

71-15,730

BRAINE, Jean Critchfield, 1939-
NICOBARESE GRAMMAR (CAR DIALECT).

University of California, Berkeley, Ph.D., 1970
Language and Literature, linguistics

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

Nicobarese Grammar (Car Dialect)

By

Jean Critchfield Braine

A.B. (University of California) 1961

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Linguistics

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Approved:

..... *W. B. Emmons (Chairman)*

..... *John J. Gumperz*

..... *Wallace D. Chafe*

Committee in Charge

DEGREE CONFERRED SEPT. 18, 1970

Degree conferred.....
Date

PLEASE NOTE:

Some pages have indistinct
print. Filmed as received.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Map	1
Introduction	2
Bibliography	8
Symbols and Abbreviations	14

CHAPTER ONE

PHONOLOGY

100. The Phonemic System	17
101. Consonants (C).	18
102. Vowels (V).	18
103. Prosodies	19
110. The Phonetic System	19
120. The Sentence.	21
130. The Macrosegment.	21
131. The macrosegmental word sequence	22
132. The word group.	22
133. The pitch envelope.	24
134. The pitch register.	26
135. The macrosegment contour.	29
136. Hesitation juncture	31
140. The word.	31

	Page
150. The syllable	34
151. Primary stress	34
152. Emphatic stress	40
160. The consonants	42
161. Examples of consonant contrasts . . .	48
170. The vowels	51
171. Examples of vowel contrasts	58
180. Phonotactics	62
200. Morphophonemics	69
210. Rules pertaining to pretonic syllables	73
220. Rules pertaining to tonic and post-tonic syllables.	75
230. Rule pertaining to intertonic syllables	81

CHAPTER TWO
MORPHOLOGY

300. Introduction to the morphology	82
400. Nouns.	84
410. Noun stems	84
411. Compounds	86
412. Derivatives containing a root plus a derivational affix	90
413. Derivational affixes deriving nouns proper	90
414. Productive affixes	90
420. Noun classes	103

	Page
421. Proper	104
422. Common animate	104
422.1 personal.	105
422.2 non-personal.	105
423. Common inanimate	107
424. Residue.	108
425. Common noun suffixation.	109
425.1 The suffix {uvə} 'have'	109
425.2 The reflexive {řɛ}	110
500. Classifiers.	112
600. Numeration	116
610. The series numerators.	116
620. Quantifiers.	120
630. Numerator Inflection	123
631. Incorporated object quantifier	123
632. Adverbial numeral.	125
633. Attributive numeral.	125
634. Incremental quantifier	127
635. Qualifier quantifier	128
700. Demonstrative pronoun.	129
710. {am} 'distal'.	130
720. {ʔa} 'specificative'	131
730. Demonstrative contractions	133
800. Pronouns	134
810. Personal pronoun inflection.	134

	Page
811. Tense/visibility morphemes with 3rd person pronouns	141
820. Distribution.	145
830. Contractions.	149
900. Verbs	154
910. Verb stem composition	154
911. Simple stems.	154
911.1 Stems which are identical to root morphemes	154
911.2 Compound stems	159
911.3 Primary stem derivations	159
912. Derived stems	161
912.1 Causative stem	162
912.2 Non-agentive stem.	164
920. The deictic verb.	166
930. Introduction to verb inflection	168
931. Thematic stem	171
932. Personal referent	177
933. Non-personal referent	179
934. Passive	181
935. Reflexive passive	184
936. Intransitive locative	186
937. Incorporated object	188
938. Possessive.	189
939. Stative	191
940. Continuative.	192
941. Attributive	193

	Page
942. Sequential	194
943. {qara} 'negative absolute'	195
944. {qaén} 'deleterious effect.'	195
950. Post inflectional suffixation.	197
951. Stems with {rén} 'involuntary action'	
952. Stems with suffixed nouns.	199
960. Minor verbal suffixes.	201
1000. Interrogative	204
2000. Minor form classes.	209
2010. The grammatical relator	211
2020. The adjective	211
2030. The demonstrative adjective	213
2040. Adverb.	214
2050. Temporal locatives.	214
2060. Demonstrative locatives	217
2070. Directional locatives	220
2080. Modal particles	221
2090. Subordinate conjunctions.	224
2100. Predicate auxiliaries	225
2110. The distributive.	226
2120. Connectives	226
2130. Coordinators.	228
2140. {?et} negation	229
2150. The quotational particle.	230
2160. Action referents.	231

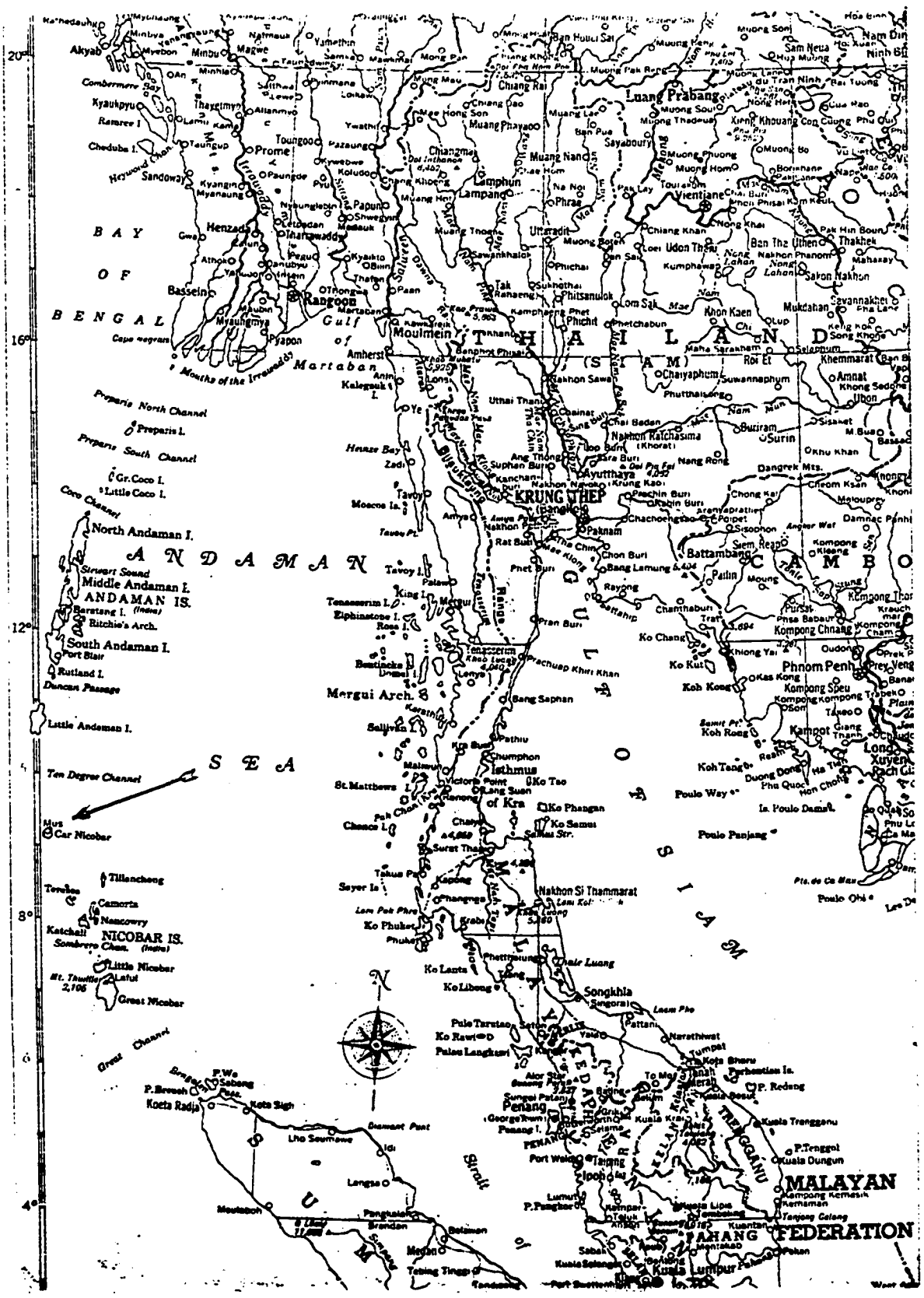
	Page
2170. The obligational {pece}	231
2180. Predicational particles	232
2190. Exclamations	234

CHAPTER THREE

TACTICS

3000. Introduction	236
3100. The clause	236
3110. The Independent clause	236
3111. Predicators	237
3112. The Independent Subject	238
3113. Satellites	239
3113.1 Predicational satellites	239
3113.2 Respectual satellites	240
3120. The Dependent clause	242
3130. The Indirect clause	243
3200. The sentence	244
3300. The phrase	245
3310. Verb phrase	245
3320. Locative phrases	249
3321. The {ʔin} phrase	249
3322. The {ɛl} phrase	249
3330. Durative phrase	250
3340. Noun phrase	250
3350. Interrogative phrase	253

	Page
3360. Numeral phrase	254
Appendix I	256



Geographic Location of the Nicobar Islands

INTRODUCTION

Car Nicobarese is the language of the people of the island of Car Nicobar, which is located in the Bay of Bengal west of the Malay Peninsula (see preceding map). Car Nicobar is the northernmost and most populous and prosperous island of the Nicobar group, all nineteen of which lie south of the Andaman Islands and together with them constitute the major part of an archipelago which extends from Burma to Sumatra.

Since the middle of the seventeenth century the Nicobarese people have been increasingly in contact with the outside world. Portuguese sailors and French missionaries are the first recorded to have visited the islands, the latter beginning to attempt to convert the natives in 1688. French Jesuits, Faure and Taillander, followed in 1711 to continue the work. However, in 1756 the Danish East India Company gained control and began to try to colonize the islands, with its Moravian Mission in operation until 1768. During the Napoleonic wars the British acquired control of the islands and attempted to restrain the sea piracy of the Nicobarese, which had by this time become notorious. In 1814 they ceded the islands back to the Danes, during whose occupation the French Jesuits again tried vainly to convert the people. In 1837 the Danes officially left the islands, but they returned in 1845 for their last attempt to colonize the people, which again proved unsuccessful. After they left in 1848 the

islands were free from outside influence until the British again took possession in 1869, establishing a penal colony on the Andamans. From then until 1948, when the newly independent government of India took over control of the Andamans and the Nicobars, Car Nicobar was under British control except for Japanese occupation during World War II. Throughout all of the various periods of occupation the Nicobarese people have maintained extensive trade contact in coconut export to Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Ceylon, and now, India.

One of the results of this long contact between Car Nicobar and the outside world is a considerable number of loanwords in the Car lexicon. Loans from Hindi-Urdu, English, Portuguese, Burmese, and possibly French have been identified in a separate study; the scope of the study presented here does not extend to coverage of loanwords.

The population of Car Nicobar is concentrated in a number of villages which dot the perimeter of the Island. The informants reported that dialect differences exist between the various villages; brief contact with people from two villages other than from Small Lapati, from which the principle informants came, did confirm that at least some differences do exist, though there is no question of a problem of intelligibility.

The language of the Nicobars is traditionally said to consist of six principal dialects, of which one is now probably dead, with several recognizable sub-dialectical varieties. However, formal dialect studies and presentation

of supporting evidence has at least until very recently been totally lacking. It is clear, however, that at least two dialects, Car and Central, are to be distinguished.

Pinnow classifies Nicobarese in the South West subgroup of the Eastern higher grouping of his Austroasiatic. This is a very broad study, encompassing many languages and based in large part on library research. Recent detailed studies by Norman Zide and David Stamp (of The University of Chicago), based on fresh field work, have clearly established that Nicobarese is related to the Munda languages of India, thus substantiating the work of Pinnow.

Nicobarese became a written language at the end of the 19th century, when the Reverend George Whitehead, an Anglican missionary to the Nicobars, provided the language with a reasonably good orthography which is now in widespread use by the people of Car Nicobar. He also translated the New Testament and compiled a most useful Nicobarese-English dictionary, which includes about six thousand entries and fairly extensive notes on the language; it is an invaluable reference. His work is based on the dialect which is spoken in the capitol town of Mus; due to its generally high reliability and consistency I am inclined to believe that areas of consistent differences between his work and that of myself represent dialect differences between the two villages.

Due to an Indian government regulation prohibiting non-Indians from going to the Nicobar and Andaman Islands, I have never been to the Nicobars. I have been unable to

learn the reason for the prohibition against outsiders, even though in my efforts to obtain the necessary permission I was granted a personal appointment with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to discuss the matter in 1963, shortly before his death. Though he seemed to be genuinely sympathetic to my goals of scholarly research the effort was to no avail. But I am still hopeful that in time the ban will be lifted and I will have the opportunity of renewing my study of the language in the cultural and linguistic setting with which it belongs.

The data on which this study is based consists of field notes and tape recordings which were collected in Ranchi, Bihar, India. The field work was conducted as a part of a Munda Languages Project which was organized by Professor Norman Zide of the University of Chicago. Financed by a grant to the University of Chicago by the U. S. Department of State, the project was operative in India during the summers of 1962 and 1963. The principal informants were Mr. Fred James, with whom I worked extensively both summers, and Mr. Edmonds Matthew, who was the sole informant in the first half of the summer of 1962. Both of these men were college students in their mid twenties and fairly proficient in English. The other informants with whom I spent any significant amount of time were Mr. Chamberlain Paul, Mr. William Cyril, and Mr. Livingstone Moses, all of whom were also college students. In addition, a group of five young schoolboys, aged 8 to 17 years, provided a limited amount of tape recorded material.

The data available for this analysis has not been adequate for a definitive study. The periods of field work were altogether too brief - and at one time hampered by serious illness. Thus the grammar as presented - particularly the tactics - must be considered an introductory study. I personally expect to pursue the study in the near future.

In this day of intensive development of rigorously systematic models of linguistic description it seems somewhat quaint to write a grammar in the essentially eclectic manner that has been followed here. However, where it was repeatedly found impossible to arrive at definitive statements it was always possible to make at least some statements that were meaningful; thus the presentation has been shaped more by the meaningful statements that could be made than by any system of analysis that would demand a statement where none was available.

My sincere thanks go to my informants, especially to Fred James, who enthusiastically rose before dawn to work with me before class and came back as soon as school was out each day; to Dr. Norman Zide for his enabling me to pursue the research; to my professors at the University of California - especially to Professors Murray Emeneau, John Gumperz, and Wallace Chafe - and to my fellow graduate students with whom I spent many exciting and profitable hours in lively discussions. Special thanks also go to Marilyn Compton, Kathleen Grinsell, and Barbara Moore, who

typed the bulk of the manuscript. To my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Howard Critchfield, for inspiring my thinking in the direction of scholarly pursuits and for providing encouragement and support throughout my many years of study, I am most grateful. Finally, to my husband, Raymond S. Braine, for his understanding, patience, and assistance through long periods of confining hard work, go my most enthusiastic expressions of appreciation and gratitude.

Bibliography

Anon.

- 1950 The New Testament in Car Nicobarese.
The British and Foreign Bible Society,
Rangoon. [Translated by George Whitehead
and John Richardson, though no mention of
this fact is made in the publication.]
- 1954 Car-Nicobarese Spelling and Reading Book.
R. Akoojee Jadwet & Co., Car Nicobar,
Publisher. [A booklet designed to teach
Car speakers to read and write their lan-
guage. It lists symbols used, gives a
fairly extensive vocabulary arranged in
order of syllable structure, and includes
about 20 stories, without translation.
Much of the vocabulary material is in-
cluded verbatim in Whitehead's Dictionary;
Whitehead is no doubt the author.]
- n.d. Ra-neh-lö (Genesis). D. Featherstone,
Publisher, for the Bible Society of India,
Pakistan, and Ceylon. [A Car Nicobarese
Translation of Genesis, done by John
Richardson though not credited to him.]

Barbe, P.

- 1846 Notice of the Nicobar Islands, Journal of
the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 15,

pp. 366-67. [Includes a short vocabulary of the Nancowry dialect.]

Dalgado, Sebastian R.

- 1913 Influencia do vocabulário português em linguas asiáticas (abrangendo cerca de cinquenta idiomas). Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade. 253 pp., map.
- 1936 Portuguese vocables in Asiatic languages ... Translated into English with notes, additions and comments by Anthony X. Soares. Baroda, Oriental Institute, 520 pp. (Gaekwad's oriental series, no. LXXIV).

Fontana, Nicolas

- 1792 On the Nicobar Isles and the Fruit of the Mellori. Asiatick Researches. Vol. 3, pp. 149-163. [Includes a short Nancowry vocabulary.]

Gabelentz, G. C. von der

- 1885 Einiges über die Sprachen der Nicobaren-Insulaner. Ber. der Kön, Sachs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. 296-307.

Grierson, Sir George A.

- 1904 Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. IV, Munda and Dravidian Families, Calcutta.

Hamilton, G.

- 1790 A Short Description of Carnicobar. Asiatick Researches, Vol. 2, pp. 337-44.

Hestermann, Ferdinand

- 1926 Affixreihen des Nankauri-Nikobaresischen.
Folio-Ethno-Glossica 2, 53-65.

Hutton, J. H.

- 1931 Notes on the Andamanese and the Nicobarese.
Man in India, Vol. XI, pp. 1-14. [A few
brief cultural notes; mentions other lan-
guage influence.]

Kloss, C. Boden

- 1903 In the Andamans and Nicobars. John Murray,
London. [The Nicobarese sections are
liberally sprinkled with Car vocabulary.]

Man, Edward Horace

- 1872 List of words of the Nicobar languages
as spoken at Camorta, Nancowry, Trinkutt
and Katschal. Journal of the Asiatic
Society of Bengal Vol. 41, pp. 1-7.
- 1889 Dictionary of the Central Nicobarese lan-
guage (English-Nicobarese and Nicobarese-
English). W. H. Allen & Co., London.
[This is an important work.]
- 1895 Descriptive catalogue of objects made and
used by the natives of the Nicobar Islands.
Indian Antiquary, Vol. 24, pp. 41-49, 106-
112, 132-136, 169-172.

1897-8 Notes on the Nicobarese. Indian Antiquary.
Vol. 24, pp. 217-222, 265-277; Vol. 27,
pp. 253-262.

n.d., between 1932-1934 The Nicobar Islands and
their People. For the Royal Anthropolo-
gical Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,
Billing and Sons Ltd., Guilford, England.
[An excellent account of the way of life
of the Car Nicobarese; includes some lan-
guage discussion and vocabulary.]

Pinnow, Heinz-Jürgen

1959 Versuch einer historischen Lautlehre der
Kharia-Sprache. Otto Harrassowitz, Wies-
baden. [A major work, unfortunately
done without the aid of George Whitehead's
dictionary.]

1960 Über den Ursprung der voneinander abweich-
enden strukturen der Munda-und Khmer-
Nikobar-Sprachen. Indo-Iranian Journal
Vol. 4, pp. 81-103.

Roepstorff, Frederik A. De.

1384 A Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect of
the Nicobarese Language. Calcutta. [A
grammatical outline followed by a Nico-
barese-English and English-Nicobarese
dictionary.]

Schmidt, Pater Wilhelm

- 1907 Les Peuples Non-Khmèr, trait d'union entre les Peuples de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Austronésie; Bull de l'École Fr. d'Extrême-Or. 7.213-63.

Temple, Sir Richard C.

- 1907 A Plan for a Uniform Scientific Record of the Languages of Savages. Applied to the Languages of the Andamanese and Nicobarese. Indian Antiquary Vol. 36, pp. 181-203, 217-251, 317-347, 353-369. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. [A grammatical sketch; includes many Car forms.]

Vaidya, Suresh

- 1960 Islands of the Marigold Sun. Robert Hale Limited, London. [A newspaperman's account of his travels in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in 1957. A well-written report of current conditions on the Islands; no strictly linguistic material.]

Whitehead, George, G. A.

- 1924 In the Nicobar Islands. Seeley, Service, & Co., Limited, London. [A lengthy discourse on the way of life of the Nicobarese, including a very good description of the language and a history of the islands.]

- 1925 Dictionary of the Car-Nicobarese Language.
American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon.
[A major work, highly reliable. Includes
some grammatical notes.]

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Adj.	adjective
Adj _n	numeral adjective
an., anim.	animate
aux.	auxiliary
C	consonant
Clf	classifier
Conn.	connective
CS	causative stem
D	demonstrative pronoun (in Morphology)
	directional suffix (in Tactics)
DC	dependent clause
DL	demonstrative locative
du.	dual
emph.	emphatic case
Eng.	English loan
excl.	exclusive
H	laryngeal consonant
in., inan.	inanimate
incl.	inclusive
inter.	interrogative case
IOQ	incorporated object quantifier
IR	referential interrogative

L	labial consonant
lit.	literally
N	nasal consonant (in Phonology) noun (in Tactics)
N _c	common noun
N _{cl}	classified noun
N _p	proper noun
N _u	unclassified noun
NP	noun phrase
NP _s	subject noun phrase
nucl.	nucleus
Num	unaffixed numerator
Num F ₁	numeral phrase
P	non-laryngeal consonant
Pers.	personal
pl.	plural
poss.	possessive case
P _p	possessive pronoun
Pred.	predicate
pron.	pronoun
S	major verb stem class
S	syllable
sg.	singular
SR	special rule
subj.	subject case

subor.	subordinate case
TS	thematic stem
V	verb (in Grammar) vowel (in Phonology)
V _i	intransitive verb
vis.	visible
V _{na}	non-agentive verb
VNR	non-referential verb
VP	verb phrase
VR	referential verb
V _t	transitive verb
(W)	from Whitehead's dictionary
X-	X is a prefix
-X-	X is an infix
-X	X is a suffix
(X)	X is optional
[X]	X is phonetic
/X/	X is phonemic
//X//	X is morphonemic
{X}	X is morphemic
X $\overset{f}{\sim}$ Y	X varies freely with Y
X \sim Y	X varies phonologically with Y
X ∞ Y	X varies grammatically with Y
X \rightarrow Y	X is rewritten as Y

$\overline{X^Y}$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} X \\ Y \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} X \\ Y \end{array} \right\}$$

 \emptyset

X but not Y

X is rewritten as X,

Y is rewritten as Y

a place holder indicating the
absence of any element

CHAPTER ONE

PHONOLOGY

100. The Phonemic System

Nicobarese is analyzed here as having forty-one phonemes, of which seventeen are consonantal, twelve vocalic, and eleven prosodic.

The seventeen consonantal phonemes include a stop series contrasting with a nasal series at four positions of articulation, three fricatives, one lateral, one flap, two semivowels, and two laryngeals.

Vocalic phonemes include ten vowels and two vocalic modifiers. Components of tongue-frontness-or-backness and lip-rounding-or-unrounding combine to produce three contrastive series of vowels: front unrounded, central unrounded, and back rounded. Within these series three positions of tongue height are contrastive in the front and back series; four positions are contrastive in the central series. The two vocalic modifiers are vowel length and vowel nasalization.

The prosodic phonemes are five of juncture, three of stress, and four of pitch. The pitch phonemes include two relative pitch levels (relevant at the syllable level) within each of two relative pitch registers (relevant at the macrosegment level).

101. Consonants (C)

Stops	p	t	c	k
Nasals	m	n	ñ	ŋ
Spirants: voiceless	f	s		
voiced			r	
Lateral		l		
Flap		ɾ		
Semivowels	v		y	
Laryngeals		ʔ	and	h

102. Vowels (V)

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
High mid	e	ɪ	o
Low mid	ɛ	ə	ɔ
Low		a	

Vocalic modifiers: /:/ Length, /-/ nasalization

A single additional vowel phoneme, /æ/, must be added to the above list because of its occurrence in a few English loan words. As the informants used in this study all spoke English quite well and their use of English was continually reinforced in nearly every informant session, it is an open question whether this phoneme occurs as a regular feature of the English loan vocabulary or whether it is in the idiolects of only those Nicobarese speakers who also speak English - and then perhaps only in a predominantly English context.

103. Prosodies

Junctural: pausal

/.../ hesitation juncture
 /↑/ series contour
 / , / macrosegment contour
 /↓/ sentence contour

non-pausal

/+ / word juncture

Stress: /' / emphatic stress

/' / primary stress

Weak stress is unmarked.

Pitch: /3/ high pitch

/2/ low pitch

/→/ low register

High register is unmarked.

110. The Phonetic System

The phonological description presented here is essentially traditional in the handling of the segmentable phonemes, with bi-unique convertability maintaining between the phonetic and phonemic levels. The prosodies do not yield to such analysis, however, for the following two reasons.

1) Stretches of speech longer than the word are relevant to the description of several prosodic phonemes; for example, pitch allophony is conditioned by other pitches within the macrosegment; thus the macrosegment is the relevant unit within which pitches are distributed.

2) Allowance of phonemic overlap is essential to any meaningful description of the prosodies. An example is the fact that pitch of weak-stressed syllables is predictable - yet the absolute pitch phones involved are contrastive in strong-stressed syllables. To require the writing of pitch on all syllables obscures the essential function and distribution of contrastive pitch.

The presentation of the phonology reflects the inherent organization of the language. The phonemes are presented as constituents in phonological constructions. The phonological constructions are sentence, macrosegment, word group, word, and syllable; they are presented in this order.

120. The SENTENCE is the largest unit which is distinguished phonologically. It consists of a sequence of one or more macrosegments and terminates with sentence final intonation, /↓/. The first macrosegment in a sentence has high pitch register, successive macrosegments may have either high or low register (sec. 134). The longest sentence observed in the corpus contains nine macrosegments, but this cannot be considered a limit to the number of possible macrosegments in a sentence.

Sentence final intonation contour is represented phonetically by a slight drop of pitch level and a trailing off of voice, tension, and loudness. This is symbolized both phonetically and phonemically as /↓/. The final macrosegment of the sentence retains its usual macrosegment final contour / , / (sec. 135). Thus a sentence ends phonemically in the sequence / , ↓ /. In all cases except where they are specifically being referred to, these phonemes in sequence are represented here orthographically by conventional terminal contour symbols based on the grammatical content of the sentence: a question mark in case of questions, an exclamation point with exclamations, and a period elsewhere.

130. The MACROSEGMENT consists of the following components: a sequence of words or word groups (words being bounded by word juncture), pitch envelope, pitch register, and macrosegment-final contour. A macro-

segment contains at least one primary or emphatic stress.

131. The macrosegmental word sequence usually consists of from one to four words. Except in those macrosegments which contain series, which are potentially unlimited in number, few macrosegments are found having more than six words. In the following examples, macrosegments are separated by commas.

3 3 3 2 3 3 2
/kíhǎ·thé·kú·ʔ, nə ńǎ·ʔ, yóhŋə ɲác, →nə ʔasó·l./

'Having finished eating, they went downstairs and began to race.'

3 3 3 2
/ɲác ʔan ɲam tavú·y, →nə ʔi kúy máy./

'The sun is now setting.'

3 3 2 3 3
/fálŋəɛ cáʔa, →nə kúmte kasóŋɛ, →nə hǒ cúh mat

2
ɲam ciŋǎ·t./ 'They took their box with them and ran away to the moon'.

3
/lǎŋ!/' 'Octopus!' (Said on sighting an octopus.)

3 3
/kú·l ɲóh cin./ 'I am cutting firewood.'

132. The word group is a special phonological construction employed to enumerate a series of items. It consists of a word or sequence of words plus series pitch contour. (Discussion of pitch is deferred to

from Madras and Calcutta went to Sumatra, Singapore and Burma and they took rubber, other non-edibles, and spices from it' ("it" refers to Car Nicobar).

133. The pitch envelope is composed of the pitches of the strong-stressed syllables of the macrosegment. Four relative levels of phonetic pitch may be readily distinguished; they are written as [1], [1⁺], [2], and [3] (from lowest to highest). The choice of the symbol 1⁺ for the mid-low pitch reflects the fact that it differs from [1] and [2] by about half the absolute distance in pitch which differentiates [2] from [3]. These pitches are distributed in two phonemic pitch registers - high and low - which differ in range of pitch variation, the low register varying less from high to low than the high register. While pitch [1] is the lowest pitch in both registers, pitch [3] does not occur in the low register, and pitch [1⁺] does not occur in the high register.

The high pitch register is unmarked in the transcription; the low register is designated by /-/ at the beginning of the macrosegment. The following chart shows the distribution of the pitch allophones in the two registers.

Phoneme	Low register	High register
/3/	[2]	[3]
/2/	[1 ⁺]	[2]

(The symbols 2 and 3 have been chosen to represent the pitch phonemes -- rather than the preferred 1 and 2 -- in order to avoid confusion and error in the transcription from the phonetic orthography.)

Examples:

2 3 2 3 2 2
/kó'ɔrén 'an, nəŋ hən mihẽ·rə, -nə có·n patí·'./ →

2 2 3 1 1 2 2 3-11 1 1⁺ 2 1⁺-1
[kò'ɔrén 'an..nəŋ hèn mihẽ·rə..nə cò·n patí·'..↓]

'It can be used otherwise as timber.'

3 3 2 3
/fàlŋəɾɛ cá'a, -nə kúmte kasónɾɛ./ →

3 2 2 3 1 1 1 1⁺ 2 1
[fàlŋəɾɛ cá'a..nə kùmte kasónɾɛ..↓]

'They took their box and ran away.'

3 3 2 2 2
/kìhí·thé·kú·, ŋac cùh panámɾɛ,/ →

2 3 3 2-1 1⁺ 2 3 2 1
[kìhí·thẽ·kú·..ŋac cùh panámɾɛ..]

'Having finished eating they went to their village..'

2 3 3 2 3 2 2
/hən háh 'ək, 'insó·lə 'á·p, tə sá·kú·tə, -'á·p

2 2 2 3 3 3
'āh hañõ·c, nə 'in cayhín, -'á·p 'āh sé·ti

2 2 3 1⁺ 2 3 2-1 2
la'ó·lə./ → [hèn háh 'ək 'insò·lə 'á·p..tə

3 2-11 1⁺ 1⁺ 2 1⁺ 2 2 3 2 2
sà·kú·tə..'á·p 'āh hañõ·c..nə 'in cayhín..'á·p

2 2 2 2 1⁺11
 ?ãh se·ti la?ó·lə...↓]

'Once there was a canoe race between Sakuta, a canoe of Kus, and Cayhin, a canoe of Small Lapati.'

134. Pitch register is ambiguous when the stressed syllable of a macrosegment with only one stress is macrosegment-initial and has pitch [2]; it may be considered to be either pitch /3/ in the low register or pitch /2/ in the high register. All such cases are considered here to be instances of the more frequently occurring high register, e.g.

2 2 3 3
 . . . /ŋac kó·?tekú·?, té ?u, neŋ mahá·mñeñe,
 2⁻ i⁺ 2 3 2-1 3 1 2
 ?ãh./ → ... [ŋac kó·?tekú·? .. té ?u .. neŋ
 2 3-1 1 1 2-1
 mahá·mñeñe .. ?ãh...↓] '... and found that it
 was only full of blood.'

The pitch of weak stressed syllables is predictable and is considered allophonic with weak stress; it is described under weak stress. Following emphatic stress the entire remainder of the sentence may (stylistically) optionally occur with pitch [1]. In such instances, and in all instances of // following // within a macrosegment, the contrast between the phonemic pitches is neutralized; (?) is written here to

indicate the ambiguous pitch, e.g.

2 3 (?) 2 2 3 1 2 1
/hɛŋ kɪhtɛn, ?in kol./ - ɛŋ kɪhtɛn..?in kol..↓]

'There is just one problem facing us.'

A glide from pitch /2/ to pitch /3/ occasionally (though infrequently) occurs on an initial syllable having a long vowel (one example having a short vowel is the result of a contraction). This appears to be motivated by considerations of style. It is indicated by /2-3/ wherever found, e.g.

2-3 2 2 2-3 2 2 2 1
/tɛ·c hɛ·k yik taɾík./ → [tɛ·c hɛ·k yik taɾík..]

'The men planted again.'

3 2 2-3 2
/sɪn + pɛɾi + ?ɛk + minɛ?ɛñ ?ɔ, -nɛŋ + kɪp./ →

3 2 2 2 3 2 1 1 1[±]2 1[±]1
[sɪn pɛɾi ?ɛk minɛ?ɛñ ?ɔ..nɛŋ kɪp..]

'Yet his name still remained.'

Analysis of pitch and pitch register has not proceeded beyond determination of their phonemic status, with the exception that their contrastive function in distinguishing yes-no questions from statements has been noted. Compare the following:

3 3
/tɛlaŋán ?ɛŋ nɛ lí·pɛɾɛ?/ 'Is it a heavy book?'

3 2
/tɛlaŋán ?an, -nɛ lí·pɛɾɛ./ 'It is a heavy book.'

3 3 3
/kíhǎ·tén ʔan kíří·p?/ 'Are you (du.) finished
wrestling?'

3 3 2
/kíhǎ·tén ʔan, -kíří·p./ 'We (du.) are finished
wrestling.'

2 2 3
/ʔá·m ʔep ciŋǎ·t, mín?/ 'How many will the moon
be tonight?' (i.e. 'How
many days will it be
since the new moon?')

3 2
/tanǎy ʔep, -mín./ 'It will be the fifth
tonight.'

All yes-no questions have high pitch on the
final stressed syllable, which occurs in a high register
macrosegment, e.g.

3, 3
/ʔǎl ʔəm hǎ·ʔ yé·sə?/ 'Have you not yet sneezed?'

3 3, 3
/cúʔu ʔec min famǎ·lŋén ʔo?/ 'Shall I myself kill
him?'

2 2 3
/ʔik hařápŋeřít, ʔém?/ 'Did you go in the even-
ing?'

3 3 3
/fé·lŋén ʔec, mín?/ 'Shall I kill him?'

But not all instances of final high pitches in the
high register are questions, e.g.

3 3 3
/təmi·ré· ʔək minéʔēñ ʔo·./ 'Her name was 'Selfish.'

3 3 3 3 3
/sí·plēē ró·kén hé·k, nuk taʔó·kə./ 'The coconuts
were increasing in number again.'

It is probable that further analysis would show that various pitch envelopes have morphemic status, each of which is correlated with a syntactic construction, indicating the construction type.

As with English, Nicobarese may be readily read by a person knowing the language without any indication of pitch. Because of this marginal function of pitch, and because pitch was omitted from much of the data used in making this analysis, pitch is not indicated throughout the rest of the grammar.

135. /,/, macrosegment contour, has the following allophones:

- a pause (written as [..]) in the speech stream;
- pitch allophones as follows:

[1] occurs with weak stressed syllables which occur following the last stressed vowel of the macrosegment, e.g.

3, 1+ 1+2, 1 1
/.. → nə mahā·mñēē, ↓/ → [.. nə mahā·mñēē.. ↓]

'It was full of blood.'

A glide to pitch [1] occurs on (1) a final syllable with primary stress, and (2) a non-final syllable with primary stress when it

3 3 3 2 2
 /tù·y ?el kúyře ?aŋ→ vamĩ·ró·?→ tē tumlát,↓/→
 3 3 3 1⁺ 1⁺ 1⁺2 1⁺ 1⁺ 2 1⁺-1
 [tù·y ?el kúyře ?aŋ vamĩ·ró·?→ tē tumlát..↓]
 3 3 3 1⁺ 1⁺ 1⁺2 1⁺-1
 (fast) or [tù·y ?el kúyře ?aŋ..vamĩ·ró·...
 1⁺ 2 1⁺-1
 tē tumlát..↓] (slow) 'Word-maker threw soil
 on her head.'

136. Hesitation juncture, /.../, is realized phonetically as pause [...], a longer pause than the [...] associated with other junctures. Unlike macrosegment-final contour, hesitation juncture is not accompanied by any pitch allophony. Like emphatic stress, hesitation juncture does not participate in the dualism that characterizes the relationship between phonology and grammar, instead standing in a one to one relationship with a morpheme meaning '(hesitation, thoughtfulness)'.

2 3 2 2 3
 /hè·k ké·? nup...řó·peř† yó?ov† masá·la ?inře·,
 3 2 2 3 2 2 3
 ne rá?aŋ ?in ?ε./ → [hè·k ké·? nup...řó·peř† ..
 2 3 2 3 2 2 2 2 3 3 2 1
 yó?ov† masá·la ?inře·...ne rà?aŋ ?in ?ε..↓]
 'And they took...rubber, other non-edibles,
 and spices from it.'

140. The WORD is a sequence of syllables which is

potentially bounded by pause, that is, it is a minimum free form. Except when the word boundary coincides with one of the other junctures, however, the potential pause only rarely in fact occurs. It is the potentiality of this pause ([..]) plus the relevance of its location to determining pitch allophony of weak stress, that is written as phonemic word juncture, /+/. In citing text material /+/ is indicated by space between words. It is only in the morphophonemic rules that the symbol /+/ is used.

Phonological clues as to the presence of word juncture in a normal utterance are very few, and word juncture is highly elusive, though it is intuitively valid to the native speaker. Exact location of word juncture was not carefully worked out with the informant, and boundaries indicated here reflect immediate constituent structure. This is an area deserving of additional study.

Syllable boundaries are entirely predictable, occurring as follows: (boundaries are indicated by hyphens in phonetic examples)

1. between adjacent vowels, e.g. /véck/ →
[vé-ck] 'to grunt'
2. before an intervocalic consonant, e.g. /laʔóh/
→ [la-ʔóh] 'to be broken'
3. between two consonants which are intervocalic,

e.g. /kúyle/ → [kúy-lə] 'prow'

4. between the first and second consonant of a three consonant intervocalic sequence, e.g. /mistrí/ → [mis-tří] 'carpenter'.

150. The SYLLABLE consists of a sequence of segmental phonemes and coincident stress.

Segmentally the syllable consists of an optional consonant onset, an obligatory vowel, and an optional consonant coda. A syllable with a coda is referred to as closed; a syllable without a coda is open.

There are three contrastive degrees of stress: primary, weak, and emphatic. The peak of intensity of stress, which is the peak of the syllable, occurs on the vowel.

151. /'/, primary stress, is realized as a degree of tension and forticity intermediate between that of weak and emphatic stress. It has three allophones, given in order of decreasing degree of phonetic tension and forticity: [ˈ] primary stress, [ˌ] secondary stress, and [ˋ] tertiary stress. Their distribution is as follows: (In the following discussion of stress allophony, the unit within which the stresses are distributed is the macrosegment. Occurrence of weak stress is irrelevant to environmental statements of strong stress allophony and is hence omitted from them.)

[ˋ] occurs between primary stresses, e.g.

3 3 3
/tɪsɔ́kɲə kúy kinló·ɲə cin./
2 3 3 3 3 3 1 1
[tɪsɔ́kɲə kŭy kinló·ɲə cin.. ↓]
'I jump over the fence.'

3 3 3 3 3
/sí·pləřɛ rɔ̃·kɛ̃n hɛ̃·k, nuk taʔó·kə./

3 3 3 3 3 3-1 2 2 3-11
[sì·pləřɛ rɔ̃·kɛ̃n hɛ̃·k..nuk taʔó·kə..↓]

'The coconuts were increasing in number again.'

[ˈ] occurs macrosegment-finally when no /"/
occurs in the macrosegment, e.g.

3 3 3
/kuřĩntɛ̃n có·n cin, ↓/

2 3 3 3-1 1
[kuřĩntɛ̃n có·n cin..↓] 'I push John down.'

[ˈ] occurs elsewhere, i.e.

(1) macrosegment initially (If another /"/
or /"/ occurs in the macrosegment), e.g.

3 3 2
/káhí·tɛ kú·ʔ cin, nǎ·ʔ, ↓/

2 3 3 3-1 1 2
[káhí·tɛ kú·ʔ cin ↓ nǎ·ʔ..↓]

(2) macrosegment finally when preceded by
/"/; (only a single /"/ has been observed
following /"/ in a macrosegment), e.g.

2 3 (?) 2
/həŋ kíhtɛ̃n, ʔín kol/

2 3 1 2 1
[həŋ kíhtɛ̃n, ʔín kol] 'There is only one prob-
lem (facing) us.'

Weak stressed syllables are relatively lax and
lenis, as compared with syllables having primary or
emphatic stress. Pitch of weak stressed syllables

is predictable and is considered allophonic with weak stress. These pitch allophones are as follows (recall that pitch of weak stressed syllables following the last stressed syllable of a macrosegment is allophonic with juncture, not stress):

Register		Rule	Additional relevant environment
Low	High		
[1]	[1]	1.	Occurs when emphatic stress /"/ precedes in the sentence.
[2]	[3]	2.	Occurs with all successive weak stressed syllables preceded by word juncture and followed by a final /2/ or word juncture plus final /2/.
[2] $\frac{f}{2}$	[1 ⁺]	[3] $\frac{f}{2}$	[2]
		3.	Occurs with all successive weak syllables following a non-final syllable having pitch /3/. All such weak syllables in succession have the same pitch.
[1]	[1 ⁺]	4.	Occurs with all successive initial weak syllables before a non-final syllable with pitch /2/.

[1⁺] [2] 5. Occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

The allophonic rule accounting for the pitch of weak stressed syllables is indicated directly below the syllables, in the row labeled 'rule'.

3 3 3 ?
/fástit tí·? cǐh ?ən nĕ·:/ →

3 3 3 3 1 1
[fàstit tí·? cǐh ?ən nĕ·...↓]

Rule: 3 1

'Who chipped these chips?'

3 3 3 3 3 2
/fĕ·n sumkám řé·n, ?ín ?ε, ?ey rĕ?ǐη metřá·s,

3 3 3-1 1 1 1 1 1 1
[fĕ·n sumkám řé·n, ?ín ?ε..?ey rĕ?ǐη metřá·s..

Rule: 3 1 1 1

3 3 2
?ey cǐh kĭlkĭ·tá·/

1 1 1 1 1
?ey cǐh kĭlkĭ·tá...↓]

Rule: 1 1

'It took us four days to go from Madras to
Calcutta.'

3, 3 3 3
 /ʔɪl sin misí·ʔ ne taʔó·kuve, -ne tahé·ŋñēřε

3, 3 3 3 3 3-1 1 1 1⁺ 1⁺ 2 2 2
 [ʔɪl sin misí·ʔ ne taʔó·kuve..ne tahè·ŋñēřε

Rule: 3 3 3 3 5 5 3 3

2 2
 cú·k, -həŋ ʔi pú·ʔ./

1⁺ 1 1⁺ 2 1⁺ 1
 cú·k.. həŋ ʔi pú·ʔ.. ↓]

Rule: 5 2

'In ancient times there were no coconut trees
 in any other places, only in Car Nicobar.'

3, 3 2
 /haʔāhləŋə cáʔa, tə yik hólřε./ →

2 3, 2 2 3 1 2 3 3 1
 [haʔāhləŋə cáʔa..tə yik hólřε.. ↓]

Rule: 5 3 3 5 2

'They were served by their friends.'

2 2 3 2
 /caló· ʔaŋáʔā, -ne ʔi sé·ti laʔó·lə./ →

1⁺ 2 3 2 1 1⁺ 1⁺ 2 2 2 1⁺ 1 1
 [calò· ʔaŋáʔā.. nə ʔi sè·ti laʔó·lə.. ↓]

Rule: 4 2 5 5 3 2

'It reached Small Lapati.'

3 2 2 3 2
 /yóhɫə nác, → nə ʔel patí·ʔ, nə tikɪkró·rɛ./ -
 3 2 2-1 1⁺ 1⁺ 2 1⁺-1 2 2 3, 2-1 1
 [yóhɫə nác.. nə ʔel patí·ʔ.. nə tikɪkró·rɛ.. ↓]

Rule: 3 5 5 5 5

'After that they went up into the house and sang.'

2 2-1 2
 /...cúh pé·mā ʔinrɛ , miʔiñhā, .../ →
 2 2 1 1 1 3 3 2 1
 [...cúh pé·mā ʔinrɛ ..miʔiñhā.. ...]

Rule: 2 2

'... and merchants went to Burma...'

3 3 2 3
 /fálnɛrɛ cáʔa, → nə kúntɛ kasónrɛ./ →
 3 2 2 3 1 1 1⁺ 1⁺ 1⁺ 2 1
 [fálnɛrɛ cáʔa.. nə kúntɛ kasónrɛ.. ↓]

Rule: 3.3 - 4 5 5

'They took their box with them and ran away.'

Little time was spent with the informant working out prosodic problems; this was an unfortunate omission as many questions have been left unanswered by the available data. It is clear that syllables with primary stress contrast at two pitch levels; the obvious solution of considering strong stress an allophone of each of two pitch phonemes has been rejected here because the pitch system seems to be separate from the stress system. Given knowledge of the grammatical

class of morphemes it is possible to predict almost entirely which syllables will have primary stress; pitch level prediction and function however have not thus far yielded to analysis.

152. Emphatic stress, /"/, is the strongest and most intense degree of Nicobarese stress. It is always accompanied by pitch /3/. Pitch phonemes and primary stress have special allophony following emphatic stress; this has been noted in connection with the presentation of these phonemes.

Like hesitation juncture, emphatic stress stands in a one to one relationship with a single morpheme, in this case '(emphasis)'. It normally occurs with all expletives; it may also occur with any primary stressed morpheme to draw attention to it.

Examples:

2 3 2 2
/hén kíhtén, ?ín kól./

2 3 2-1 2 1
[hèn kíhtèn, ..?ín kól.. ↓]

'There is only one problem (facing) us.'

3
/lǎŋ./

3-1
[lǎŋ.. ↓] 'An octopus!'

3 3 3 3
/?h. ké?e ŋih savŋ man./

3-1 3 3 3 3 1
[/?h.. ↓ kè?e ŋih savŋ man.. ↓] 'Here! Take this soap.'

3
/kapáh cin./

2 3 1
[kapáh cin..↓]

Lit: 'I am dead!'; equivalent to 'My God!'
(surprise).

Description of the distribution of phonemes in the syllable is the subject of the phonotactic section, deferred to after the presentation of consonant and vowel allophony.

160. The Consonants.

The stops are voiceless in all their environments. In syllable initial position they are fortis in articulation; syllable finally, they are lenis and, unless they are before pause, are without audible release. Before the pause associated with any juncture, they have a slightly aspirated release. Elsewhere they are unaspirated. (Examples are cited phonemically.)

/p/ is bilabial.

pó·p	'to make'
hapé·tə	'to burn'
cáplə	'to put up'
kinpó·kə	'the tying'

/t/ is alveolar.

tú·klə	'to pull up'
mát	'eye'
mátti	'to go down'
maté·rə	'eagle'

/c/ is palatal. Prevocally it is usually affricated: [tʃ].

cú·k	'place'
kú·c	'to write'
canō·cə	'hurricane'
?incét	'small fish trap'

/k/ is a back velar stop when it is before /a/ or /ɔ/ or when it is syllable final after /ɔ/; elsewhere it is a velar stop.

sikón	'elbow'
ká.ʔ	'fish'
latókkati	'to be broken down'
kán	'to carry on shoulders'
súktēē	'to fall'
té.k	'to be lined up'

The nasals parallel the stops in their positions of articulation. As a syllable coda to a stressed oral vowel a nasal has homorganic, voiced, lenis pre-stoppage. This is essentially a lack of simultaneity of closure of the oral passageway and opening of the velic, resulting in the affricated nasal phones [p̥m], [d̥n], [j̥ñ], [g̥ŋ]. The oral stop component of the phone is shorter in duration than is the nasal stop. In all other environments the nasals are fully nasal, voiced, and fortis.

/m/ is bilabial:

máh	'hey there'
kúm	'to bring'
límlə	'roll up'
kammép	'barber'

/n/ is apico-alveolar:

nā.re	'outrigger'
có.n	'tree'
ʔinnē.te	'third'
kinmō.ne	'knee'

/ñ/ is palatal:

ñá·ʔ	'to eat'
kíñ	'to be old'
sé·ñlə	'to shred, cut up'
mumñám	'player'
sé·ñə	'be shredded'
sé·ññə	'to mince and take away'

/ŋ/ has a post velar allophone when it is syllable final after /ɔ/, elsewhere it is a velar nasal.

ñá·v	'ripe (of fruit)'
nónŋ	'(classifier used in counting animals)'
tú·ŋñə	'to slice out'
fíñŋə	'to burn away'
há·ŋə	'to be obeyed'
cí·pŋə	'to go straight away'

The fricatives share a phonological feature of spirantalization and a distributional feature of infrequent or non-occurrence syllable finally. (The peculiarity that two of the spirants, /f/ and /s/, are voiceless in all their environments while the third, /r/, is voiced, is a reflection of the historical development of /r/ from an earlier /*y/.)

/f/ is a voiceless labiodental spirant:

fé·l	'to kill'
fatá·k	'to slap'
kufónŋ	'to be thick'

kalfú·t 'ear wax'

/s/ is a voiceless apicoalveolar rill spirant:

sát 'seven'

sañó·l 'to bulge'

rís 'to sprinkle'

kisát 'to jerk'

hanú·snə 'steam'

kinsóh 'fingernail'

/r/ is a voiced apico-domal fricative. The dominant phonetic quality of this phoneme is the retroflexion; the spirantalization is much weaker than that of the voiceless fricatives.

rá·le 'last, youngest'

?inrú·y 'a fly'

sú·rə 'be dragged along side'

/l/ is a voiced alveolar lateral; in syllable final position it is flapped.

lím 'to fold'

kiló·p 'throat'

talkác 'ant'

fó·olə 'prow of canoe'

?úlle 'dug up'

tafú·l 'six'

/r̃/ is a voiced alveolar flap. In syllable initial position /r̃/ is usually accompanied by apicoalveolar pre-stoppage, [t] when preceded by a voiceless consonant, [d] elsewhere.

řé·n	'foot'
lamřít	'tail'
kúkřε	'my coconut'
patí·ʔřε	'my house'
hévheř	'eight'

/v/ represents the apparently unconditional alternation between [v] (a voiced labio-dental fricative), [w] (a voiced labialized velar nonsyllabic vocoid) and [β] (a voiced bilabial fricative). Of these three phones [β] is the most frequent.

vó·k	'a hook'
vahé·	'yesterday'
kavál	'to fish (with net)'
cé·vŋε	'be quiet'
kinvál	'net (for fishing)'
ŋǎ·v	'ripe, old'

/y/ is a voiced palatal non-syllabic vocoid:

yíh	'to come'
yanǎ·cε	'poverty'
ʔiyíŋ	'to dwell'
kú·yle	'front piece of canoe'
kumyún	'soldier'
ʔinrú·y	'fly (insect)'

The two laryngeals, /ʔ/ and /h/, constitute a class by virtue of their identical role in many morphophonemic rules. They show partial complementation on the

phonemic level: syllable finally /h/ is never preceded by a long vowel, /ʔ/ always is. It is likely that these phonemes were formerly allophonic variants of a single phoneme.

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop. Word initially it does not contrast with zero and is frequently omitted, especially in rapid speech. Elsewhere between vowels it is weakly articulated. Syllable finally it is more fortis, especially word finally. Like the other stops, /ʔ/ has a non-contrastive aspirated release before pause.

ʔahá	'to fish (with poison)'
ʔám	'dog'
lúʔu	'to be chased'
rá·ʔtə	'to be put'
kinʔí·c	'matches'
ká·ʔ	'fish'

/h/ as a syllable coda is actualized as a voiceless non-syllabic offglide of the same quality as the preceding vowel. A considerable amount of air escapes through the vocal cords, producing a breathy, spirantalized sound, for example,

fóh	'to sweep'
séhti	'to be overcocked'

As a syllable onset /h/ is actualized as a voiceless (initially or following a consonant) to slightly voiced (following a vowel) onglide of the same quality

as the following vowel. It is accompanied by minimum glottal friction, for example,

fóho	'to be swept'
humlúm	'gold'
ró·lhaka	'to be lying down'
kahál	'to cook'
típhet	'to press (thing) in'

161. Examples of consonant contrasts are,

p - t - c - k:

pó·k	'to bind together'
tó·k	'to drive a nail'
có·k	'to sew'
kó·k	'to beat'
kí̄p	'be firm'
kí̄t	'be energetic'
kí̄c	'to pluck'
kí̄k	'to sever'

m - n - ñ - ŋ:

tám	'to harpoon'
tán	'be immobile'
táñ	'be savage'
tán	'put up a wall'
mé·m	'older brother'
né·m	'coconut fibre cloth'
ñé·k	'to tie'

ṅé·c	'to look carefully'
ñá·k	'be spread out'
ṅá·k	'be spoiled'
f - s - r - h - y:	
fát	'to capsize'
sát	'tell before'
rát	'to slice crosswise'
hát	'be light'
kiyát	'ant'
r - ř - l:	
řít	'harvest coconut'
řít	'taut'
lít	'to cut or trim'
p - m - v:	
sáp	'to stab'
sám	'gum'
pisáv	'to mess up'
p - f - v:	
péh	'to toss'
féh	'to lift up'
véh	'to be warped'
t - n:	
sá·t	'to weave'
sá·n	'be busy'
c - ñ:	
tác	'to reach'
táñ	'be savage'

k - ŋ:		
	tá·k	'measure with arms'
	tá·ŋ	'portable oven'
h - ʔ:		
	síʔi	'devil'
	síhi	'be blown aside'
	ʔók	'to drink'
	hók	'to bale water'
ʔ - Ø:		
	sú·	'to drag along side'
	sú·ʔ	'to jump down'
	kamʔ [́] ·t	'one who drinks'
	kam [́] ·t	'one who rows'

170. The Vowels.

The vowels are voiced in all their environments. In rapid speech, macrosegment-final vowels tend to be weakly articulated and are sometimes hardly audible.

Before syllable-final /h/ vowels are exceptionally short in duration -- approximately one half a mora. Elsewhere, unlengthened vowels are about one mora in length. (See page 57 regarding contrastive vowel length).

An epenthetic vocalic palatal glide [i] occurs following a vowel -- short or lengthened -- before the palatal consonants /c/ and /ñ/ when they are syllable final, for example.

pé·c	'snake'
lác	'to skewer'
fó·clə	'canoe prow'
kíñ	'old, ripe'
sé·ñlə	'to mince'
ʔó·ñci	'monkey'

In the following environments all vowels have slightly nasalized allophones: (See sec. 150 for discussion of the syllable).

- (a) In an unstressed closed syllable beginning with /ʔ/ or /h/ and ending with a nasal consonant, for example,

ʔ <u>i</u> nrúy	'fly'
hu <u>u</u> lúm	'gold'

- (b) After a nasal consonant when neither /ʔ/ or /h/ follows, for example,

taníy 'ive'
 mél 'just now'
 malá·kə 'citron'

Little additional environment-conditioned allophony is found among the vowels. Only /i/, /u/ and /a/ have somewhat consistently perceptually distinct allophones in complementary environments.

Similar environments determine the distribution of the allophones of /i/ and /u/. The relevant environments are shown in the following chart.

Environment	Allophone	
	/i/	/u/
1. Before length	[i]	[u]
2. Unstressed in open syllables; stressed in closed syllables	[i [˘] ...i]*	[u [˘] ...u]
3. Unstressed in closed syllables	[I...i [˘]]	

(*...here means that the allophones vary freely over a range bounded by the phones given; [˘] means 'lowered'.)

Examples:

	/i/		/u/	
1)	lí·m	'to roll'	tú·ŋ	'to slice lengthwise'
	tafí·si	'widow'	pinřú·ŋə	'mist'

- 2) miléh 'to move' tuřé· 'be dark red'
 lañít 'tail' túm 'bunch'
 fé·li 'be killed' só·?tu 'be forbidden'
 ?i 'to, in' ?uhó·m 'to breathe'
- 3) kinsóh 'fingernail' kumyí·nə 'earthquake'
 tilŋí?i 'clam' kunléh 'something thrown'

/a/ is a low central unrounded vocoid; it is backed when stressed and preceded by /k/; for example,

- máy 'sea' talá·kə 'be falling apart'
 lác 'to skewer' kanǎ·nə 'sister'
 lá·c 'to massage' ?ó·lka 'custard apple'
 ñá?ǎ 'food' sák 'to fish with a
 ká·? 'fish spear'

The phonetic qualities of the remaining vowels are as follows:

/e/ is a mid close front unrounded vocoid, for example,

- héŋ 'one'
 hé· 'when'
 péh 'a bubble'
 ké?eŋ 'take away'

/ɛ/ is a mid open front unrounded vocoid, for example,

- cátŋén 'be lost'
 pép 'slap'
 ŋǎ·n 'be tight'
 pé·t 'be burned'

[ɛ] and the sequence [ɛɔ] are almost in complementary distribution, [ɛɔ] occurring stressed before k, ŋ and l, and [ɛ] occurring elsewhere. (Recall the front glide before palatals, found after all vowels.) In violation of this distribution are a few loan words and a few infixes where [ɛ] represents //e// after a nasal, e.g.

/sékentēri/ 'secondary'

/huméŋ/ 'only one', {h'éŋ} 'one'

Compare /kanéɔŋ/ 'piece of stick on a long fishing line'.

Phonetically the sequence [ɛɔ] is a diphthong, with stress on the [é], when it is short. When it is long, however, the stress is on the [ɔ], with both [ɛ] and [ɔ] clearly occupying the peaks of syllables. This sequence [ɛɔ] is phonemicized here as /ɛɔ/.

Examples:

/p'éɔk/ 'to pull'

/pitéɔ·ŋə/ 'to make something numb'

/kuh'éɔl/ 'to be concave'

/cint'éɔŋ/ 'mosquito curtain'

/ɨ/ is a high close central unrounded vocoid, for example,

kát	'be sharp'
káhá·t	'to be finished'
tí·	'to glide through air'
háh	'to cease, desist'
tí·ki	'be pulled'

/ɪ/ is a high open central unrounded vocoid, for example,

kít	'be vigorous'
ʔík	'(a cry of pain)'
tí·ki	'be removed from fire (of pot)'
talí·kə	'parrot'

/ə/ is a mid open central unrounded vocoid:

ʔək	'he (subj. pron; past, anim., non-vis.)'
néʔə	'dove'
máy	'unbreakable'
talé·kə	'road'
héh	'light (in weight)'
piré·y	'to dissolve'

/o/ is a mid close back rounded vocoid, for example,

róg	'to accompany'
ʔufóv	'be cold'
tó·k	'to drive a nail'
haʔó·	'to drive cattle'

syllables were lengthened, unless a laryngeal followed.

A ten vowel system is clearly required to handle the long vowels. If loan words were ignored, nine vowels would be adequate for the short vowels. However, such a solution would require separate sets of long and short vowels; /·/ could not be treated as a "vocalic modifier", and hence the relationship between long and short vowel forms of a single morpheme could not readily be shown. This would be a serious violation of the dynamics of the language. For this reason, because of the occurrence of [ə] in loan words in environments non-complementary with [ɪ], and because of strong informant insistence about the distinction of these vowels, the present solution has been adopted.

Two vocalic components have been isolated as separate phonemes: length and nasalization. This solution was adopted over one setting up separate series of vowels -- short, long, short nasal, and long nasal -- because this present solution simplifies the statement of the morphophonemics -- as well as the phoneme inventory -- and hence represents the structure of the language more adequately.

Long vowels vary in length from about one and a half to two and a half morae. The shortest length occurs when the vowel is followed somewhere in the macrosegment by a stressed syllable while the longest occurs when the vowel is immediately followed by an open syllable.

In environments other than these a long vowel is about two morae in length. Examples of long vowels have been presented above.

Phonemic nasalization, in contrast to the predictable nasalization described above, is produced with wide velic opening, resulting in considerable nasal resonance.

Examples:

ʔǎá·və	'a light'
cǐ·pŋə	'to have consumption'
tiʔǎá·t	'to groan' (onomatopoeic)
pǎŋ	'gas on bowels'
tikǐ̃·c	'a person deformed by protruding buttocks'
ʔǎ̃·tu	'a duck'
ŋǎ̃t	'be curved, rounded'
hǎ̃.	'yes, to wish, want'

171. Examples of vowel contrasts are,

i - e - ε:

síhi	'be blown (of nose)'
séhe	'slats (for floor)'
séhε	'be overcooked'

i· - e·:

cí·v	'to capsize'
cé·v	'quiet'

e· - ε·:

sé·t	'a fruit shoot'
sé̃·t	'to stab'

ɪ - ɪ:	
sɪ́ŋ	'to call on'
sɪ̀ŋ	'stout'
ɪ - ə:	
pɪ́p	'throw eggs'
pɛ́p	'type of tree'
ə - a:	
méy	'courage'
máy	'sea'
ɪ· - ɪ· - ə· - a·:	
kalá·kə	'be tickled'
kalí·kə	'to shake'
talí·kə	'parrot'
talé·kə	'road'
talá·kə	'be out of order'
i - ɪ:	
tík	'to split'
táik	'to jerk'
ɪ - u:	
tún	'to overflow'
tín	'to perch'
e - ɪ - o:	
hén	'one'
hín	'to wait for'
?ihón	'stone'

u - o - ɔ - ε - ə - a:

lúhɲə	'to unloose'
lóhɲə	'to hit and leave'
lóhɲə	'the south, south wind'
léhɲə	'chip off a piece'
léhɲə	'to get loose'
láhɲə	'to tear down'

u· - o·:

tú·k	'to pull'
tó·k	'to drive a nail'

o· - ɔ·:

vó·k	'bathe'
vó·k	'fishhook'

ε· - ə·:

pé·p	'poisonous tree'
pé·p	'a reed type'

ə· - ɔ·:

və·k	'to grasp'
vó·k	'fishhook'

ɔ· - a·:

kó·?	'to be able'
ká·?	'fish'

ε· - a·:

sé·t	'to stab'
sá·t	'to weave'

i - i·:

síp	'type of knife'
-----	-----------------

sí·p	'to grow'
e - eː	
sampét	'papaya'
pé·t	'to be healed'
ɛ - ɛː	
pép	'to slap'
pé·p	'poisonous tree'
ɨ - ɨː	
tác	'to rip with teeth'
tá·c	'to plant'
ə - əː	
pép	'a type of tree'
pé·p	'a type of reed'
a - aː	
cát	'to be lost'
ca·t	'move'
u - uː	
túnj	'to cause to overflow'
tú·ŋ	'to slice'
o - oː	
ról	'to insert'
ró·l	'to be many'
ɔ - ɔː	
ñók	'to pluck'
ñó·k	'to suck'
æ - ɛː	
plæŋkét	'blanket'
plékpó·t	'blackboard'

180. Phonotactics

Statements made in this section do not apply to loan words unless so specified.

- a. Nasalization co-occurs with stress, with but two exceptions;

ʔēá·və 'light'

pāñn 'pound' (Eng.)

The following chart lists the vowels with which nasalization may co-occur.

Short	Long
i Ì u	i· Ì· u·
ε ə ɔ	ɪ·
a	ε· ə· ɔ·
	a·

/ɪ̃·/ occurs in only one form, /tikɪ̃·c/ 'person having deformed, protruding buttocks.'

The presence of both nasalization and length with /ɪ̃·/ are surprising and unique in this word.

The following vowels are always nasalized.

1. A long vowel following a nasal consonant, e.g. nē·t 'two'.
2. A tonic or post-tonic vowel following a laryngeal when there is a nasal in the preceding syllable, e.g.

mihɪ̃·ye 'caterpillar (type)'

ʔinhū·tə 'catching with a string'

tilŋí'í 'clam'

- b. Length occurs contrastively with all vowels except the new phoneme /æ/. However, certain limitations to the distribution of /·/ must be mentioned.
1. /e·/ contrasts with /e/ only when a nasal precedes.
 2. /e·/ and /o·/ and, to a lesser extent /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are almost in complementary distribution with, respectively, /e/, /o/, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, the short vowels occurring before the fricatives /h/ and /s/ and in the environment 'H where H is a laryngeal, and the long vowels occurring elsewhere. (A special statement for /ɔ/ is that it occurs additionally (1) before the velars /k/ and /ŋ/, and (2) unstressed). There are exceptions to each of these statements of complementation, but it should be noted that most of the data exhibits the complementation as stated.
 3. Length does not occur contrastively with /ɪ/ in closed syllables. (tikī·c, noted above, is a single exception.) Thus length is freely contrastive only with the symmetrical vowels /i, ɪ, u, a/.

Long vowels nearly always co-occur with stress, but there are exceptions, e.g. /*ʔinĩre*·/ 'and', /*pɔ*·*ʔ*/ 'because', /*ye*· / 'if'.

c. The syllable canons are:

$\acute{V}(C)$ CV CVC $\acute{C}\acute{V}(C)$

Differing distributions of phonemes in these syllable types precludes collapsing the canonical formulae. There is by no means free occurrence of consonants and vowels within these formulae. Possibilities are as follows:

1. Syllables without onsets.

Type $\acute{V}(C)$: V = a, \acute{i} , o

C = k, ŋ, l after o

C = t, v after a (only two instances.)

/ɛ/ precedes VC syllables in all instances except the interjection *ʔaǎ*· 'look', which also provides the only example of / \acute{i} / in a syllable without an onset. Syllables of this type are by far the least frequently occurring in the language.

Examples:

pantɛá·ka 'melon'

kapeón 'porpoise'

kuhsól 'be concave'

ti·*ʔeǎ*·t 'to groan (onomatopoeic)'

kumɛá·v 'cat'

2. Syllables with onsets.

Vowel harmony and metathesis result in some consonant and vowel distributions which occur nowhere else in the language. As a result of vowel harmony alone, any vowel which may occur stressed before a laryngeal may also occur unstressed after it. This includes all vowels except /ɪ/ and /æ/.

E.g.

/fóho/ 'be whipped'

/ʔíʔí/ 'to be admired'

As a result of both vowel harmony and metathesis, the consonants /l, ñ, ŋ, v, y/ occur syllable finally after all vowels except /ɪ/ and /æ/ in unstressed syllables beginning with a laryngeal,

E.g.

/sóʔov/ 'be rejected'

/véʔeñ/ 'be told'

/péhey/ 'be thrown away'

What appears to be vestigial vowel harmony is seen in the following five forms:

páhá· 'morning'

řehén 'cord'

cahén 'thing'

ʔehé· 'to sneeze'

kíhí·t 'be complete'

These forms are exceptions to the distribution of unstressed /ɨ/ and /ɛ/. (A number of forms with prefix tə- such as /təhé·m̃i/ 'which is flowing out' show that the first vowel in each of the above forms cannot be construed as schwa assimilated to the following stressed vowel.)

In order to present a clearer picture of the phonotactics, syllables which are the result of metathesis and/or vowel harmony are excluded from the following discussion.

- a. The following general restrictions obtain on the sequence consonant-vowel.
 1. The high mid vowels /e, ɨ, o/ do not occur after a nasal consonant, nor does the new phoneme /æ/.
 2. /ɨ/ does not occur after /ñ/.
- b. Syllables having an initial consonant are of the following types.

Type CV : C = all consonants

V = a, ə, i, u

The only syllables of this type which have not been noted are *fu, *řu.

A single CV syllable is not described by the above formula: řɛ. /ɛ/ does not occur unstressed anywhere except in this syllable and in harmonic situations discussed above.

Type C_1VC_2 : C_1 = all C except r, v
 C_2 = all C except f, s, ʔ, r
V = a, ə, i, u

Only a relative few of the seven hundred and eighty possibilities generated by this formula have been found to occur; those which have been found are given in Appendix I.

The high frequency of m and n as syllable-finals is due to their occurrence in infixes.

Surely many of the gaps in the charts are fortuitous. Two systematic restrictions have been noted:

1. i does not occur before a labial consonant unless juncture follows.
2. p, f do not occur before /un/, i.e.
*pun, *fun.

In addition to the above CVC syllables, ɔ and e each occur in a handful of weak stressed CVC syllables -- most of which are contractions, e.g.

pɔc	(pɔ·ʔ əc)	'because I'
pɔm	(pɔ·ʔ əm)	'because you (sg.)'
pɔn	(pɔ·ʔ ɛ nə)	'because he, they'
kɔl	'surely'	
yec	(yé· əc)	'if I'
yey	(yé· hi·ʔ)	'if we (pl., incl.)'
setmák	'bee'	

Type $C_1\acute{V}(C_2)$: C_1 = all C except for the general restrictions already mentioned.

V = all V

C_2 = all C except /r̄, r/

Restrictions:

1. /f/ occurs syllable-finally in only one word -- probably a loan, although the source has not been identified: cáf 'tamarind'
2. /n/ does not occur syllable-finally after /·/.
3. /ʔ/ is always preceded by /·/ when syllable-final.
4. The following vowel-consonant sequences do not occur in the data.

{e, ì}p Ì{h, ʔ}

ey {u, ə, ε}v

200. Morphophonemics

The morphophonemic rules are an ordered sequence of phonological rewrite rules which operate on a string of phonological elements which are termed morphophonemes. The input to the rules is the phonological shapes of morphemes, which are written morphophonemically. The output of any particular rule is without theoretical significance; the output of the whole set of rules is the phonemic representation of the data.

It is perhaps of interest to note that while order is an important factor in the application and statement of the morphophonemic rules given here, it is not true that each rule must be ordered with respect to every other rule. The rules are presented here according to which portion of the word they apply to: pretonic, tonic, and post-tonic, or inter-tonic syllables. Among the rules of the first group, order is not relevant, nor need these rules be ordered with respect to the other groups. But within the tonic - post-tonic group the rules must be ordered fairly strictly, although there is some flexibility. The single inter-tonic rule appears to be unordered.

Morphophonemic processes found in Nicobarese include both consonantal and vocalic assimilation, loss, and metathesis, consonantal dissimilation, vocalic change, consonantal prothesis, semivocalic epenthesis, vowel-semivowel alternation, and vowel length and

nasalization loss.

Three special statements of an upper-level phonological nature which are not technically morphophonemic rules need to be made, concerning (1) the use of special rules (SR); (2) the mechanics of infixation, and (3) macrosegmental stress placement.

(1) Irregularities of a portmanteau or restricted phonological nature are described by special rules, which pertain only to the morphemes or phonological segments of morphemes specifically designated.

The rules, designated by SR, are presented in the grammar in connection with the constructional statement which brings the morphemes or segments together. The output of the special rules is morphophonemic and hence subject to the morphophonemic rules.

E.g.

SR: {-am-} + {vé·} → //mĕ·// 'those (anim.)'

(2) Morphs with hyphens on either side are infixes; they occur with stems having either the shape CVC or CVCVC, and are infixed into these phonological strings according to the following rules:

(a) with stems having the shape CVC, the infix has the shape VC and occurs after the initial consonant, e.g.

//-am- fé·l// → //famé·l// 'killer'

//-ah- tí·c// → //tahí·c// 'what is planted'

(b) with stems having the shape CVCVC, the infix has the shape C and occurs after the initial CV, e.g.

//-n- kuléh// → //kunléh// 'what is thrown'

//-m- tanáy// → //tamnáy// 'five only'

In this respect it should be noted that hyphens written with morphs or morphemes are without theoretical or segmental significance; their use is strictly as a designation of whether the affix is a prefix, infix or suffix. Where the context makes this clear the hyphens are omitted.

(3) Every macrosegment has at least one primary or emphatic stress. If none of the morphemes of the macrosegment is inherently stressed, macrosegmental primary stress occurs on the first syllable. In the following examples the word having macrosegmental stress is underlined.

E.g.

//acih ap kumyéh, tē ʔúk cu, mín?// 'Who will scratch my back?'

//ʔí·ʔə an có·n, téc.// 'John is praised by me.'

//sé·lə an ɲam sá·ñ, té məh.// 'The rice is spooned by you.'

In the statement of the morphophonemic rules below the following special symbols are used: (see also symbols and abbreviations, pages 14 - 16).

\check{V} weak-stressed vowel

\acute{S} syllable with primary stress

* Rule is optional. In general, the optional rules are less likely to occur in slower and more deliberate speech.

— The location in the environment in which the alternation occurs.

$V_1 \dots V_1$ Vowels designated by subscript one are identical in all respects, including vocalic modification features (i.e. length and nasalization).

210. Rules pertaining to pretonic syllables.

These rules are unordered, with respect both to each other and to the other rules.

1. Vowel loss

The first of two adjacent unstressed vowels is lost.

$$\check{V} \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \check{V}$$

E.g.

//kainrī·r// → kinrī·r 'cooking utensil'

//siinró·lə// → /sinró·lə/ 'butting'

//maanʔihén// → manʔihén 'what can be stopped'

//əaṇah// → aṇah 'he'

2. Vowel assimilation # one

Unstressed i and ï assimilate to a following labial consonant that is not before juncture.

$$\check{i}, \check{\imath} \rightarrow \check{u} / _ L(-+)$$

E.g.

//kimhá·t// → kumhá·t 'one who finishes'

//kimyún// → /kumyún/ 'soldier'

//kivá·y// → /kuvá·y/ 'to wave'

3. Vowel assimilation # two

Unstressed schwa assimilates to a following unstressed vowel when a laryngeal intervenes.

$$\check{ə} \rightarrow V_1 / _ \check{H}\check{V}_1$$

E.g.

//məʔiyĭŋ// → /miʔiyĭŋ/ 'inhabitants'

//təʔayá·l// → /taʔayá·l/ 'which is green'
 //məʔuřéh// → /muʔuřéh/ 'one who is first'
 //məhacíl// → /mahacíl/ 'deceiver'

4. Dissimilation

(a) One of the two consonants in the sequence hăh dissimilates to ʔ.

$hăh \rightarrow hăʔ \frac{f}{s} ʔăh / _ \acute{V}$

E.g.

//mahahó·r// → maʔahó·r $\frac{f}{s}$ mahaʔó·r 'one who drives (something) away'

//hahán// → /ʔahán $\frac{f}{s}$ haʔán/ 'to cause to hear; what one hears'

(b) h before af or as dissimilates to ʔ.

$h \rightarrow ʔ / _ \check{a} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} f \\ s \end{array} \right\} \acute{V}$

E.g.

//hafál// → /ʔafál/ 'to cause to run'

//haséh// → /ʔaséh/ 'to cause to be overcooked'

5. Glottal stop prothesis

Glottal stop is introduced before an initial vowel.

$\emptyset \rightarrow ʔ / + _ \acute{V}$

E.g.

//an// → /ʔan/ 'He (subj., non-past, vis.)'

//əm// → /ʔəm/ 'you (sg. sub.)'

6. Unstressed VH loss

The sequence vowel-laryngeal is lost before another unstressed vowel in a closed syllable.

$$\check{V}H \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \check{V}C$$

E.g.

mu[?]umfó·v → /mumfó·v/ 'one who makes (something) cold'

mu[?]umréh → /mumréh/ 'one who causes one to be startled'

220. Rules pertaining to tonic and post-tonic syllables.

Rule six is unordered with respect to all other rules; the other rules are fairly strictly ordered.

7. Vowel lowering

A mid vowel becomes a lower mid vowel after a nasal or a cluster of nasal plus h.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} e \\ o \\ \text{ɪ} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \varepsilon \\ \text{ɔ} \\ \text{ə} \end{array} \right\} / N(h)_$$

E.g.

//lamɪk// → /lamék/ 'one who goes through'

//kané·tə// → kané·tə 'the binding together'

//[?]inhó·ŋə// → [?]inhó·ŋə 'a driving away'

8. h loss

h is lost before [?].

$$h \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \text{?}$$

E.g.

ɲíhʔa → ɲíʔa 'this (inan., specificative)'
 ɲóhʔa → ɲóʔa 'this (anim., specificative)'.
 méhʔə → méʔə 'you (sg., emphatic)'.

9. Vowel lengthening

A stressed vowel in an open syllable is long unless the next syllable begins with a laryngeal.

$\emptyset \rightarrow \cdot / \acute{V} _ _ PV$

E.g.

//féle// → /fé·le/ 'be killed'
 //hɪ̃ŋəkú·ʔ// → /hɪ̃·ŋəkú·ʔ/ 'be expected,
 waited for'

In slow speech a vowel in an open syllable before h is sometimes lengthened:

E.g.

//píhe// → /píhe/ or /pí·he/ 'spouse'

10. Assimilation: tonic nasalization

A long vowel after a nasal consonant is nasalized.

$V \rightarrow \tilde{V} / N _ _ .$

E.g.

//ñá·ʔ// → /ñã·ʔ/ 'to eat'
 //pumná·mɛ// → /pumñã·mɛ/ 'a village'
 kané·tə → /kanẽ·tə/ 'the binding together'

*11. Length loss

Length is lost before glottal stop when a vowel follows.

• (→) ∅ / __[?]V

E.g.

$\acute{n}\acute{a}\cdot?ə$ (→) $\acute{n}\acute{a}?$ 'be eaten'

$\acute{l}\acute{u}\cdot?ə$ (→) $\acute{l}\acute{u}?$ 'be chased'

Note: this rule is sometimes inoperative in slow speech.

E.g.

$\acute{n}\acute{a}\cdot?ə \rightarrow / \acute{n}\acute{a}\cdot?ə /$ 'be eaten'

Most of the following rules pertain to post-tonic syllables; note however that rule eighteen applies both to tonic and post-tonic vowels.

*12. Metathesis

A sequence $\underline{R}ə$ (where \underline{R} is any of the resonants \underline{l} , \underline{m} , \underline{n} , $\underline{\eta}$, $\underline{\acute{n}}$, or \underline{V}) is metathesized after a laryngeal.

$Rə$ (→) $əR$ / H__

E.g.

// $\acute{r}\acute{u}h\acute{l}\acute{e}$ // (→) $\acute{r}\acute{u}h\acute{e}l$ 'to move up'

// $\acute{v}\acute{e}\cdot?n\acute{e}$ // (→) $\acute{v}\acute{e}\cdot?e\acute{n}$ 'to tell'

// $\acute{h}\acute{o}\cdot?u\acute{e}$ // (→) $\acute{h}\acute{o}\cdot?eu$ 'be agreeable'

// $\acute{h}\acute{a}\acute{c}\acute{i}\cdot?i\acute{e}$ // (→) $\acute{h}\acute{a}\acute{c}\acute{i}\cdot?ei$ 'be shortened'

Note: This rule is optional when the segments to which it pertains are in word-final position; otherwise it is obligatory:

E.g.

// $\acute{k}\acute{o}\cdot?n\acute{e}l\acute{o}\cdot n$ // → $\acute{k}\acute{o}\cdot?e\acute{n}l\acute{o}\cdot n$ 'be satisfied'

(especially of food)

//cé·ʔuəréŋ// → cé·ʔəurén 'have something left'

13. Semivowel rule # one

Unstressed i and u become y and v, respectively, after a vowel.

ĩ, ũ → y, v / V__

E.g.

hó·ʔəu → hó·ʔəv 'be agreeable'

cé·ʔəurén → /cé·ʔəvrén/ 'have something left'

hací·ʔəi → hací·ʔəy 'be shortened'

*14. Vowel loss

An unstressed vowel is lost following an unstressed vowel with an intervening consonant other than t or r.

V (→) ∅ / VC^{-t,r}__

E.g.

//kafĩtqele// (→) /kafĩthel/ 'to flick something up'

//ŋáthaka// (→) /ŋáthak/ 'to be bound'

//macúhtəřε// (→) /macúhtəř/ 'nine'

hó·ʔəvə (→) hó·ʔəv 'be agreeable'

15. Semivowel rule # two

Semivocalic glides y and v are introduced between iə and uə respectively.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} iə \\ uə \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} iyə \\ uvə \end{array} \right\}$$

E.g.

//hó·luə// → /hó·luvə/ 'have a friend'

//hacá·ʔiə// → /hacá·ʔiyə/ 'be shortened'

16. Vowel assimilation # three

Schwa is totally assimilated to a preceding stressed vowel when a laryngeal intervenes.

$$ə \rightarrow V_1 / \acute{V}_1 H _$$

E.g.

ñáʔə → ñáʔā

fóhəyə → /fóhoyə/ 'be driven out'

ʔāhə → ʔāhā 'be alive'

(Note that vowel length blocks this rule:

ñá·ʔə ≠ *ñá·ʔā.)

This rule often does not operate in slow speech or when \underline{V}_1 is \underline{i} or \underline{u} ;

E.g.

/kú·ʔeti/ $\frac{f}{-}$ /kúʔeti/ 'toward'

*17. Nasal loss

If identical vowels are separated by glottal stop and the first of those vowels is nasalized and stressed, the nasalization is lost.

$$\tilde{V}_1 (\rightarrow) V_1 / _ \acute{V}_1$$

E.g.

ñáʔā (→) /ñáʔā/ 'be eaten'

lúʔū (→) /lúʔū/ 'be chased'

18. r loss

r is lost before a consonant or juncture.

$$r \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \begin{cases} C \\ + \end{cases}$$

E.g.

//ʔasé·rhət// → /ʔasé·hət/ 'pour in'

//ʔasé·r// → /ʔasé·/ 'to pour'

19. Assimilation: nasalization

A tonic or post-tonic vowel is nasalized if there is a nasal in the preceding syllable and a laryngeal intervenes.

$$V \rightarrow \tilde{V} / N(V)H _ _$$

E.g.

//mahú·və// → /mahū·və/ 'a wave'

//kamhúl// → /kamhūl/ 'a cook'

//kinʔí·c// → /kinʔī·c/ 'a match'

méʔε → /méʔē/ 'you (sg. emph.)'

20. Non-correlative q

//q// represents the following alternation:

$$q \rightarrow \emptyset / _ _$$

$$q \rightarrow h / \text{Elsewhere}$$

E.g.

//mañó·ʔqəŋa// → /mañó·ʔəŋa/ 'be left behind'

//f'é·lqəŋa// → /f'é·lhəŋa/ 'to kill (someone)'

ʔət ñamtó·ʔqara → /ʔət ñamtó·ʔara/ 'to not
play at all'

230. Rule pertaining to inter-tonic segments.

*21. Unstressed er loss

The sequence er is lost between stressed vowels.

$\text{er} \rightarrow \emptyset / \acute{S}(\text{C}) _ \acute{V}$

E.g.

//pó·ytəró·ʔ// (→) /pó·ytó·ʔ/ 'be great (of
sound)'

//kanó·ʔləró·ʔ// (→) /kanó·ʔló·ʔ/ 'blessing'

CHAPTER TWO

MORPHOLOGY

300. Introduction to the Morphology

The morphology comprises statements of allomorphy, stem structure, and word composition; it involves the description of derivation and inflection.

The major Micobarese form classes, defined by both morphological and tactic criteria, are noun, classifier, numerator, pronoun, verb, demonstrative pronoun, and interrogative.

Morphological processes involved are inflection, which is accomplished by suffixation, and derivation, which is accomplished by prefixation, infixation, suffixation, and compounding.

Major semantic contrasts around which the language is organized are animate/inanimate, which are inherently contrastive in nouns, pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns, and personal/non-personal, which are inherently contrastive in nouns and are inflectional with pronouns.

Description of the noun centers on two topics: derivation and classification. Derivation is a major process of noun formation, most forms consisting of a verb root or stem plus an affix. Classification of the nouns is tactic, distribution within the noun phrase defining common and proper classes, each of which has animate and inanimate subclasses.

The classifiers are a morphologically simple tactic class, most members of which are also nouns.

The numerator class comprises the series numerators, which is a class of numerator roots, and the quantifiers, which are roots which are also nouns or verbs. Description of the numerator involves presentation of the formation of the series constructions and description of the five numeral inflectional constructions, two of which also occur with verbs.

The demonstrative pronoun description involves both derivation and inflection; the roots contrast as to proximal/distal, number and animate/inanimate.

The pronouns are a morphologically and semantically highly complex paradigm, at various points within the paradigm showing either implicit or explicit contrast for person, number, case, personal/non-personal, animate/inanimate, near/remote, visible/non-visible, and past/non-past.

Verb description involves statements of stem composition and description of the thirteen inflectional constructions. Stems are either simple or derived, and are distributed in three classes: transitive, intransitive, and non-agentive. Five of the inflectional suffixes consist of a stem plus a single suffix; the other seven describe paradigms which are inflected for direction/aspect, and which differ with respect to voice.

The interrogatives comprise interrogative roots and derived stems; they are distributed in four tactic posi-

tions and are presented together as a morphologically interlocking set of forms.

400. Nouns

Nouns are identified by their distribution in syntactic constructions. Any word which may occur as head of a noun phrase is a noun.

410. Noun stems

Description of noun stems involves consideration of stem allomorphy and morphemic composition of stems.

1. Stems which are identical to root morphemes,

e.g.

{rón} 'fruit, product; side'

{ʔá·p} 'canoe'

{ʔatulín} 'small pox, measles'

{ʔá·tu} 'duck'

{kinláñpá·} 'hole'

{kó·fi} '(a type of fish)'

{sampét} 'papaya'

2. Two small classes of stems having allomorphy,

e.g.

a. patí·ʔ ∞ mití·ʔ 'house'

saká·mə ∞ sikám 'day'

The second form of each of the above pairs occurs with {mi-} 'nominal'; e.g. sunkám 'day (numerated)'; the first form of each pair occurs in all other environments, e.g.

patí·ʔ cin 'my house'.

b. céhen ∞ céhe 'thing'

céhe occurs as a bound form in compounds;

e.g. céhetí./ 'tool' (lit: thing-hand),

céhecó·n 'bird', (lit: thing-tree).

céhen is a free form, e.g. céhen 'thing'

3. Stems with augment

Many forms appear to consist of a stem plus a discontinuous affix, which in turn consists of a prefix or infix plus a final //ə//.

//ə// occurs with the morpheme {-in-} 'gerund' and in some instances with the morphemes {ka-} 'vocative', {mi-} 'nominal', and {ta-} 'nominal'.

With {-in-} 'gerund', //ə// has a limited contrastive function, distinguishing some forms with {-in-} from forms with {-an-}. With the other nominal affixes, //ə// appears simply to be an augment.

This is probably a problem of a residual nature which would yield to analysis were more data available. For purposes of this description, this analysis considers this e suffix as a stem augment; indication of its occurrence is given in every instance that is known.

4. Stems consisting of more than one morpheme.

This study does not attempt to provide an exhaustive study of derivation. There is a large stock of derivatives, many of which are frozen forms containing no derivational marker. The purpose of the discussion of derivation given here is to provide a general acquaintance with the problems and processes involved in the language.

Nicobarese derived nouns are of three types:

1. Compounds.
2. Derivatives containing only one root and no derivational marker.
3. Derivatives containing a root plus a derivational affix.

411. Compounds

If one or both of the constituents is itself a derived noun or is three or more syllables in length, the constituents of the compound are written as separate words. While this is somewhat arbitrary it conforms fairly closely to native speaker feeling for the language.

Compounds having only nouns as constituents.

This is a highly productive process of noun derivation; most compounds that are nouns are of this type.

Compounds in which primary noun roots are the constituents.

Body part words are the most productive roots in compounds. Examples are,

/céncó·n/ 'bird'; {céhɛn} 'thing', {có·n} 'tree'
 /kĩnkú·n/ 'son-in-law'; {kó·ñ} 'male', {kú·n} 'child'
 /róncó·n/ 'fruit juice'; {róŋ} 'fruit', vegetables;
 {co·n} 'trees, plant'
 /kalřé·n/ 'leg'; {kál} 'bar', {řé·n} 'foot'
 /kú·?patí·/ 'door way'; {kú·?} 'face, surface',
 {pati·?} 'house'
 /kúy kuvó·kə/ 'centipede'; {kúy} 'head', {kuvó·kə}
 'basket'

Compounds in which at least one constituent is polymorphemic, for example:

/kú·? samá·?/ 'chin'; {kú·?} 'face, surface', //samá·?//
 'jaw', ({sá·?} 'chief', {am} 'agentive')
 /mák ?aláha róncó·n/ 'fruit juice'; {mák} 'water',
 {?aláha} 'body', //róncó·n// 'fruit, vegetables'
 /cú·k finřá·y/ 'frying pan'; {cú·k} 'place', //finřá·y//
 'frying', ({fiřá·y} 'to fry', {in} 'gerund')
 /tətmák ŋaná·və/ '(banana type)'; //tətmák// 'which
 doesn't look' ({tə} 'which (adj.)', {ət} 'negative',
 {mák} 'see, look'); //ŋaná·və// 'being ripe',
 ({ŋá·v} 'be red, ripe', {in} 'gerund')

Compounds consisting of a noun plus a numeral, for example:

/taníyřóh/ '(tree type); (leaves fall off in five nights)';
 {taníy} 'five', {řóh} 'night'
 /túmně·tə/ 'twin'; {túm} 'bunch', {né·t} 'two', (schwa
 stem augment).

Compounds consisting of a noun plus a verb, for example:

noun plus verb:

/túm^áhā/ 'berry'; {túm} 'bunch', {^áh} 'to have, belong to', (schwa stem augment).

verb plus noun:

/ré·nró·ʔ/ 'noise'; {ré·n} 'be a substitute', {róʔ} 'voice, word'

Such compounds are very infrequent.

Compounds consisting of a locative plus a noun or numeral.

In all such examples the locative precedes the noun, as it does in a locative phrase;

/ʔɛlṛé·n/ 'sole'; {ɛl} 'in, on', {ṛé·n} 'foot'

/ʔɛlké·l/ 'armpit'; {ɛl} 'in, on', {ké·l} 'arm'

/ʔilú·y/ 'spring'; {in} 'within', {lú·y} 'three'

Derivatives consisting of one root and no derivational morpheme.

Many nouns are clearly to be identified as verb roots plus regular verb affixes, or as verb affixes attached to bivalent bound roots which are the base of both noun and verb derivatives. The composite form functions as a derived noun and has a meaning which is relatable to that of the morphemes of which it is composed. Examples are as follows:

verb plus suffix:

/yíŋén/ 'leader'; {yíŋ} 'be great', {rən} 'involuntary action'

/rón̄ti/ 'half'; {rón̄} 'be a row', {t} 'down, toward', {i} 'intransitive stem closing suffix'

verb plus prefix:

/ʔətvíc/ 'lobster'; {ət} 'not', {víc} 'be quick'

/sikéh̄ŋə/ 'hot season'; {si-} ? {kéh̄} 'be dry', {ŋ} 'perfective', {ə} 'noun derivative'

/husá·t/ 'basket'; {hu-} '(emphasizes type of action)', {sá·t} 'to weave'

bivalent bound root plus verb suffix:

/r̄é·nti/ 'base'; {r̄é·n} 'foot; to go', {t} 'toward, down', {i} 'intransitive stem closing suffix'

There is one example of a noun derived from a bound noun root plus a verb suffix and a numeral classifier, i.e.

/r̄ó·ʔlón̄/ 'height (of something relatively tall and slender)'; {r̄ó·ʔ-} '(large) measure of time or space', {l} 'upward', {nón̄} '(classifier with long, slender objects)'

Surprising is the occurrence of verb suffixes with one noun in derived form.

/kúylə/ 'decoration front of canoe'; {kúy} 'head, top', {l} 'up', {ə} 'noun derivative'

412. Derivatives containing a root plus a derivational affix.

Derivational affixes are of two types:

1. Those deriving nouns proper; such nouns have all and only the properties of nouns.
2. A vocative affix, deriving nouns used as vocatives.

413. Derivational affixes deriving nouns proper.

414. Productive affixes

{mi-} 'nominal' occurs with both noun and verb stems, deriving (1) a class of numerable nouns, and (2) a class of derived nouns that occur either with or without a numerator.

SR: //Ha// → ∅ /{mi}__

E.g. {mi-} + {haté·m} → /mité·m/ 'night (numerated)'

mi- - -m- derive numerable nouns from the class of noun stems listed below. The allomorphs are distributed as follows:

-m- occurs with CVCVC stems, e.g. /tamlí·ke/ 'hut (numerated)'; /sumkéhŋe/ 'summer (numerated)'.

mi- occurs with CVC stems, e.g. /mité·m/ 'night (numerated)'; /miké·lə/ 'an arm's length'.

All but two of the nouns derived with {mi-} have schwa stem augment when occurring with {mi-}. The following list of nouns occurring with {mi-} is complete for my data:

Stems requiring schwa augment (cited morphophonemically):

ʔáfta 'week' sikéhŋe 'summer'

ciŋé·t	'moon'	súŋ	'monsoon'
kufít	'wind'	takán	'thigh'
panám	'place'	talí·kə	'hut'
píhí·ʔ	'morning'	tuhé·t	'village'

Stems which do not have schwa when occurring with {mi-}:

haté·m	'night'	saká·mə	'day'
--------	---------	---------	-------

Examples:

/nĕ·t tumhĕ·tə/	'two villages'
/lú·y miʔáfta/	'three weeks'
/hĕŋ mité·m/	'one night'

{mi-} has a collective meaning with five nouns, all of which occur only with numerals. Possibly these are also classifiers, but evidence is lacking, e.g.

/ʔá·p/ 'canoe', e.g. /hĕŋ miʔá·pə/ 'one canoe plus contents'
/có·ŋ/ 'ship', e.g. /hĕŋ micó·ŋə/ 'one ship plus contents'
/kupók/ 'small boat', e.g. /hĕŋ kumpók·kə/ 'one small boat plus contents'
/patí·ʔ/ 'house', e.g. /hĕŋ mumtíʔi/ 'one house plus contents'
/pí·hə/ 'spouse', e.g. /hĕŋ mupí·hə/ 'one nuclear family'

{mi-} occurs with a small class of noun and verb stems having schwa augment, deriving numerable nouns, all of which may occur either as nouns or as numeral classifiers.

The meaning of the forms derived from verbs is
'(a unit which is the result of the action of the verb)'
e.g.

/mirá·tə/ 'a slice', {rát} 'to slice'

/milí·mə/ 'a parcel', {lím} 'to fold'

With noun stems the meaning of {mi-} is '(a unit of measure)', such as 'a ___ full'.

E.g.

/pumlí·nə/ 'a bottle full'

/miké·lə/ 'an arm's length'

The following lists of stems occurring with {mi-} in this usage are complete for my data. (Citations are morphophonemic.)

Verb stems

kíc	'to pluck, pick (of fruit, vegetables, eggs)'	té·k	'to be in a row'
		pó·k	'to bind or string'
		rát	'to slice'
láh	'to tear down a whole stalk (of bananas)'	sá·k	'to bag, sack'
		harún	'be wrapped around'
lím	'to fold'	hayúl	'to bag'
řík	'to chop or cut'		

Noun stems

kasón	'box'	patí·?	'house'
ké·l	'arm'	pilín	'bottle'
kuvó·kə	'basket'	taní·yə	'cooking pot'
ná·?ə	'jar'	tí·n	'tin'

{mi-} is identified in a small class of nouns derived from verb stems; its meaning is one of the following:

Agent: a non-personal doer of the action (usually a specific animal or insect term).

All but two nouns of this type have schwa augment, i.e. /milá·c/ 'masseur', /miŋĕ·c/ 'examiner'.

Abstract quality of being: All such derived nouns of this type are without schwa augment.

This distribution of {mi-} is non-productive; the forms so derived appear to be frozen forms.

E.g.

/miñō·kə/ 'leech', {ñó·k} 'to suck'

/miʔé·lə/ 'anklet', {ʔé·l} 'be in, around'

/misó·kə/ 'index finger', {só·k} 'to point'

/misí·pə/ 'fruit which has germinated',

{sí·p} 'to grow'

/mirí·vló·n/ 'sorrow', {harívló·n} 'be sorrowful'

/micí·l/ 'deceit', {hací·l} 'to entice, cheat'

/mikáh/ 'knowledge', {ʔakáh} 'to know'

{-ə} occurs with a small class of verb stems, either simple or thematic, deriving nouns referring to one of the following:

1. (with transitive verbs) the instrument by which the action is accomplished; or the result of the action;

2. (with intransitive verbs) something having the quality described by the verb.

3. With both stem types there are some noun derivatives whose meaning is only abstractly related to the stem.

E.g.

/tó·pə/ 'tongs', {tó·p} 'to grasp' (V_t)

/r̄í·lə/ 'a bow', c.f. //hañíl// 'to shoot (with gun)' (V_t)

/ñáhā/ 'injury'; {ñáh} 'to beat' (V_t)

/piñé·nə/ 'straw'; {piñéñ} 'to cut in pieces' (V_t)

/cé·cə/ 'surfboard'; {cé·c} 'to slide' (V_i)

/r̄ó·ŋə/ 'spine'; {r̄óŋ} 'be in a disjointed row' (V_i)

/rá·lə/ 'last (person), youngest'; {rá·l} 'to be young, new, fresh' (V_i)

/pó·ʔkə/ 'a wave which is ridden to shore'; {pó·ʔ} 'catch fish' (V_t), {k} '(imperfective)'

/líklə/ 'device used in climbing'; {lík} 'to go via' (V_t), {l} 'up'

/kití·lə/ 'jelly fish'; {kití·r} 'to fly' (V_t), {l} 'up'

{ta-} occurs with a small class of verb stems and

with a very few noun stems, deriving nouns referring to the following:

1. Something having the characteristic or quality described by the verb. A proportionately large number of such words are descriptive terms for coconut trees.
2. The result of the action. (These are few in number.)
3. An agent which performs the action.

For example,

1. /tavú·y/ 'sun'; {vú·y} 'be hot'
 /taŋé·ʔ/ 'bone'; {ŋé·ʔ} 'be hard'
 /taʔík/ 'coals'; {ʔík} 'be burning'
 /taṙá·n/ 'slanted coconut tree; {ṙá·n} 'to be leaning'
 /taŋút/ 'humped coconut tree'; {ŋút} 'be rounded, curved'
 /talú·k/ 'erect coconut tree'; {lú·k} 'to be straight up'
2. /tañúkŋə/ 'torch of bound coconut leaves';
 //ñúkŋə// 'to tie coconut leaves'; {ŋ} 'perfective', //ə// '(schwa augment)'
3. /tarál/ 'a head louse'; {rál} 'to crawl'
 /takán/ 'thigh'; {kán} 'carry'

Five nouns derived from verb stems by {ta-} have schwa augment, i.e.

/tayóhɔ/ 'ladder'; {yóh} 'to climb a ladder'
 /tafí·tə/ '(tree type)'; {fít} 'to strike with a
 stick' (questionable derivative)
 /talé·kə/ 'road'; {lík} 'to go through, via'
 /taʔó·kə/ 'coconut'; {ʔók} 'to drink; drink'
 /talí·mə/ 'cigar'; {líṃ} 'to roll, wrap around'

Not all verb stems occurring with {ta-} are primary, e.g.

/tañúkɲə/ 1) 'a torch of coconut leaves', 2) 'a
 banana'; {ñúk} 'to tie coconut leaves', {ɲ}
 'perfective'; //ñúkɲə// is not known to occur as
 a derived formation; it is a regular verb con-
 struction.

/tacónkú·ʔ/ 'foreigner'; {cón} 'be long', {kú·ʔ}
 'face'

{ta-} is known to occur with two noun stems and one
 numeral, i.e.

/tamí·yə/ 'fire'; {máy} 'a fire for warming oneself'
 /taʔú·ku/ '(tree type)'; {ʔúk} 'back, bark',
 {uvə} 'have'
 /tasím/ 'a fathom, yard'; {sí·n} 'ten'

{tə} 'grammatical relator' is of questionable classi-
 fication as a noun deriving affix. It occurs broadly as
 an adjective formant and clause introducer, but it is
 also found as a prefix in a few derived nouns, occurring
 with both verb and noun stems, e.g.

with verb stems:

/tərí·la/ 'animal, beast'; //rí·la// 'be crawling',
 {rál} 'to crawl', {a₂} 'stative'
 /təʔaŋú·ʔ/ 'a creeper (has a bitter taste)'; {ʔaŋú·ʔ}
 'be bitter'
 /təʔamí·nu/ 'owner'; //ʔamín// 'possession, attri-
 bute', {uvə} 'have'

with noun stems:

/tətú·mu/ 'robbers'; {tum} 'bunch', {uvə} 'have'
 /təkaní·t/ 'a paddle steamer with oars'; //kaní·t//
 'oar'; ({kí·t} 'to row', {an} 'instrument')

Contrast between {tə-} and {ta-} is shown by the
 following pairs:

/təñó·/ 'dry (adj.)'; {ñó·r} 'be dry'
 /tañó·/ 'dry land'

/təʔó·kə/ 'which is drunk (adj.)'; //ʔóke// 'to be
 drunk (passive)'

/taʔó·kə/ 'coconut'

{-an-} 'instrument' refers to an instrument by
 which the action of the verb is accomplished. It
 occurs with transitive verbs and a very few nouns.
 With verbs it is extremely productive, for example,

-an- - -in- - -n-

-an- occurs with CVC stems, e.g.

/ŋanát/ 'cord'; {ŋát} 'to tie'

/fanóh/ 'a whip'; {fóh} 'to whip';

-n- occurs after //u//, e.g.

/kunléh/ 'what is thrown'; {kuléh} 'to throw';

-in- occurs elsewhere, e.g.

/kinrĩ·/ 'cooking utensil'; {kaĩ·r} 'to make
curry'

/sinrõ·l/ 'horn (what butts)'; {siĩó·l} 'to butt'

{-an-} has been observed with idiomatic reference
with a single noun, i.e.

/kanẽ·l/ 'tusk'; {ké·l} 'arm'

{-ah-} 'object' denotes the object of the action
of the verb. It occurs only with transitive CVC stems;
it is very productive, e.g.

/tahí·c/ 'what is planted'; {tá·c} 'to plant'

/sahé·ñ/ 'something minced'; {sé·ñ} 'to mince'

{-in-} 'gerund' occurs with schwa augmented verb
stems, deriving verbal nouns having one of the following
meanings:

a. 'Quality or state of being' (intransitive
verbs only), e.g.

/ranã·cə/ 'heat', {rác} 'be hot'

b. 'Action of __ing', (transitive and intransi-
tive verbs), e.g.

/yaníhĩ/ 'coming'; {yíh} 'to come' (Vi.)

/sinũ·rə/ 'burning', {sú·r} 'to burn' (Vt.)

c. 'An instance of the action' (transitive verbs
only), e.g.

/ñiná?ã/ 'dinner'; {ñá·?} 'to eat'

{-in-} also occurs with any numeral expansion, deriving ordinal forms of the numerals. With {hén} the derived form means 'unity, oneness'. Schwa augment of numeral expansions with {-in-} occurs with numbers up to nineteen and is apparently optional; it occurs suffixed to the final stem in the construction, e.g.

/ʔinnē·t sí·nə/ 'twelfth'

{-in-} has allomorphs as follows:

-an- - -in- - -n-

-an- occurs with intransitive CVC stems, e.g.

/vanē·kə/ 'belching'; {vé·k} 'to belch'

/manátte/ 'the setting'; //mátte// 'to set
(of sun or moon)'

-in- - -n- occur elsewhere,

-n- occurs after //u//, e.g.

/ʔunréhə/ 'startled-ness'; {ʔuréh} 'be
startled'

/kunléhə/ 'throwing'; {kuléh} 'to throw at'

-in- occurs elsewhere, e.g.

/ʔincá·pə/ 'piling'; //hacáp// 'to pile'

/sinŋū·lə/ 'darkness'; {saŋúl} 'be dark'

/tinī·pə/ 'pressing'; {típ} 'to press'

/tinnā·yón/ 'five hundredth'; //tanā·yón//
'five hundred'

/linū·yə/ or /linū·y/ 'third', {lú·y} 'three'.

{-in-} derives kinship terms with two nouns, i.e.

/kaná·nə/ 'sister; female cousin of boy'; {kán}

'female'

/kanō·ñə/ 'brother; male cousin of girl'; {kó·ñ}

'male'

Perhaps {kán} and {kó·ñ} should be construed as verbs.

{-am-} 'agentive', with allomorphs -am- - -m- - mē-, occurs with verb and unit numeral stems. With verb stems it denotes a person or thing that performs the action of the verb. With the unit numerals it derives a noun meaning 'only so many'.

-am- occurs with CVC stems, e.g.

/famē·l/ 'killer'; {fé·l} 'to kill'

/samī·p/ 'what grows'; {sí·p} 'to grow'

/samém/ 'ten only'; {sí·n} 'ten'

mē- occurs with CVCVC stems beginning with a laryngeal, e.g.

/mahakín/ 'fisherman'; {hakín} 'to fish'

/miʔiñih/ 'seller'; {ʔiñih} 'to sell'

/maʔanē·t/ 'two only'; {né·t} 'two'

-m- occurs elsewhere, e.g.

/kamhúl/ 'a cook'; {kahúl} 'to cook'

/kumcík/ 'taste'; {kucík} 'to taste' (Vi.)

/tanníy/ 'five only'; {taníy} 'five'

Non-productive affixes. Four are mentioned here; there are doubtless others.

- a. {li-} 'nominal', occurs with one verb stem and one classifier, e.g.

/likín/ 'neck'; {kín} 'carry on shoulder'
 /litá·k/ 'tongue'; {tá·k} 'classifier with
 flat objects'

- b. Three prefixes ending in /l/: {kil-}, {tal-},
 and {til-}. Each occurs in one noun, e.g.
 /kiltó·cə/ 'husk of coconut', {tó·c} 'to husk
 a coconut'
 /talřéhti/ 'type of banana - stalk is very
 near ground'; //řéhti// 'base,
 (near down)'
 /tilká·nu/ 'type of basket'; {kín} 'carry
 on shoulders', {-uvə} 'have'

The vocative affix.

{ka-} 'vocative' has two allomorphs;

kə- - ka-

kə occurs before unstressed syllables, e.g.

/kəkahé·mə/ 'brother!'

ka occurs elsewhere, e.g.

/kapí·hə/ 'wife!'

/kakú·nə/ 'child!!'

{ka-} has been found only with the following
 nouns, all of which have schwa augment when occurring
 with {ka-}; however, it is likely that it may occur with
 any kinship term of address as well as other nouns of
 personal reference:

{hól} 'friend'

{kahé·m} 'younger brother, sister, or cousin'

{kú·n}	'child'
{mé·m}	'elder'
{pí·hə}	'spouse'
{yíŋ}	'parent'
{yó·m}	'master'

420. Noun Classes

A noun is any word which may occur as head of a noun phrase. Nominal subclassifications are tactically defined, distribution within the noun phrase and the verb phrase each defining separate but overlapping classes. The small subclass defined by verb phrase distribution is discussed in connection with the presentation of the verb phrase.

Distribution within the noun phrase defines common and proper classes, each of which has animate and inanimate subclasses. The common animate class has personal and non-personal subclasses.

Common and proper noun classes are defined respectively by the potential occurrence or non-occurrence of the noun with demonstrative adjectives, numeral classifiers, possessive pronouns or the reflexive {řε}, or the derivative possessive {uvə}. Proper nouns comprise personal and place names; common nouns comprise all other nouns.

Animate and inanimate subclasses of each of these two major classes are defined by the distribution of the singular demonstrative morphemes and the classes of reference of the third person singular animate and inanimate pronouns, as follows:

	singular <u>demonstrative</u>	3rd pers. sg. <u>pronouns</u>
animate	ŋóh	ɔ
inanimate	ŋíh	ε

As proper nouns do not occur with demonstrative adjectives, the class of reference of the third person singular pos-

sessive pronouns is the defining criterion of animate and inanimate subclassification.

These are formally defined classes; the names animate and inanimate are justifiable only in that the animate class includes all nouns of animate reference of both the plant and animal kingdom; however, there are some semantically inanimate nouns in the animate class. More precise specification of the membership of the classes is given in the designation of subclass membership, below.

421. The proper animate class consists of all personal names and names of members of the animate class.

E.g. (All examples are morphophonemic.)

təké·n	'Conscientious' (personal name)
tətmák	'Not Water' (personal name)
vamí·ró·ʔ	'Word Maker' (personal name)
sá·kú·ʔte	'Face-like' (canoe name)

The proper inanimate class consists of all place names.

E.g.

mú·s	'Mus'
sé·ti laʔó·le	'Small Lapati'

422. The common animate class has personal and non-personal subclasses, defined by the distribution of the dual and plural demonstrative pronouns, the third person plural possessive pronouns, the third person dual and plural subject and interrogative pronouns, and the numeral classifiers, as follows:

<u>Demonstratives</u>		<u>Personal</u>	<u>Non-personal</u>
	Dual	ná·	
	Flural	vé·	né·

3rd person pronouns

Subj. and Inter. Stems

	Dual	na-	
	Flural	yi-	nu-
	Possessive Flural	ca	u

Classifiers

{taka} {ma·?}

(subclasses in

{noŋ}

non-personal)

(unclassified)

422.1 The personal common animate class includes only and all common nouns having reference to human or spiritual beings, e.g.

n̄í·?	'child'	kammép	'barber'
tañík	'person'	sí·?ə	'devil'

422.2 The non-personal common animate class has three subclasses, defined by the distribution of numeral classifiers.

1. Nouns occurring with {mé·?} 'a plant or tree'

This class includes all nouns naming plants and trees; e.g.

cón	'tree'
ta'ó·ke	'coconut tree'
tañúkŋə	'banana plant'
kuvāñ	'pandanus tree'

2. Nouns occurring with {nón} 'an animal or long, narrow object' Two semantic subgroups comprise this subclass, as follows:

a. Nouns referring to all non-human members of the animal kingdom, e.g.

ká·? 'fish'

pí·kəře 'goat'

cahəcó·n 'bird'

?inrú·y 'fly'

b. Nouns referring to objects which are relatively long and slender in shape. While this class is open ended and includes new loans of definitely long and slender shape, it is necessary to list the membership in that there are some words which might be construed to fit into this class but which in fact are in the common inanimate class. The members of the non-personal common animate class which are semantically not animate are as follows:

?á·p	'canoe'	kupók	'row boat' (W)
cé·ce	'surfboard'	linřéñ	'bow (weapon)'
có·ŋ	'ship'	ŋóh	'firewood'
có·k	'arrow'	péns=1	'pencil'
fé·l	'knife'	sakú·?	'knife'
hutú·k	'bow (weapon)'	tinkún	'stick'

/kanú·c/ 'writing implement' /tinlúh/ 'cane cord'
 /kunhí·l/ 'file'

Whitehead adds that the words for oar, paddle, and axe are also in this class; data as to what the specific morphemes are are lacking.

{nón} has an allomorph // -ón // which occurs as a suffix in derivations with the noun root {r̄ó·ʔ} 'length, distance' and its verb derivative //maṛó·ʔ// 'be long', e.g.

/r̄ó·ʔlón/ 'height (of a long slender object)'
 /maṛó·ʔtón/ 'be long (of a long slender object)'

3. Unclassified nouns. A single non-personal common animate noun has been identified which occurs without a numeral classifier in a numerative phrase, i.e. /ʔihón/ 'stone'.

423. The common inanimate noun class includes all other nouns. There are clearly numerous subclasses defined by the distribution of the numeral classifiers; data are lacking to pursue the analysis. Only three divisions are made in this analysis, as follows:

1. Nouns occurring with {lá·ʔ} 'a body part which is paired', e.g.

/mát/ 'eye'

/ṅán/ 'ear'

/ké·l/ 'arm'

2. Unclassified nouns. Three common inanimate nouns have been identified which occur without

a numeral classifier; a systematic check of all nouns would surely reveal more. The three identified are:

/kí·pə̃ɛ/ 'book' /pĩúm/ 'lead'
/patí·ʔ/ 'house'

3. All other nouns. This class includes nouns referring to objects, fruits (there possibly are subclasses here), actions, abstract qualities, etc. Examples of members of this class are as follows:

/mák/ 'well' /páhí·ʔ/ 'morning'
/minú·ʔ/ 'mocking' /talé·kə/ 'road'
/panám/ 'country' /cé·cə/ 'wave'
/váh/ 'wound' /yíŋʔóh/ 'log'

424. Residue

There are additionally nine common nouns which occur without a numeral classifier but for which data are lacking to determine the animate/inanimate classification. They are as follows:

/cé·ʔ/ 'outrigger' /sá·ñ/ 'rice'
/cí·l/ 'guess' /saykíl/ 'cycle'
/nǎʔǎ/ 'pot' /sinró·l/ 'horn (animal)'
/raná·méló·n/ 'happiness' /tú·ʔ/ 'fishing sinker'
/rótí·/ 'bread'

425. Common noun suffixation

Any common noun of appropriate semantic content may occur in each of two constructions unique to them among nouns, i.e. with either the reflexive {r̄ɛ} or the derivative possessive {uvə}, both of which also occur with verbs.

425.1 The suffix {uvə} 'have'

{uvə}, with allomorphs //uə∞ əuə - uə - və - u(ə) - u// indicates possession. Nouns with {uvə} are limited in their distribution to predicate positions. {uvə} also occurs with verb stems in the possessive construction. The full statement of allomorphs is given here, as follows:

uə occurs with verbs in the possessive construction, e.g.

//kahúlluə// → /kahúlluvə/ 'have something to cook'

//hayúnŋuə// → /hayúnŋuvə/ 'have something to hide'

əuə - uə occur elsewhere after stressed syllables ending in a laryngeal.

əuə occurs finally, e.g.

//mikáhəuə// → /mikáhavə - mikáhav/ 'have faith'

//ká·ʔəuə// → /ká^ʔava - ká^ʔav/ 'have fish'

uə occurs non-finally, e.g.

//cé·ʔuəɾén// → /céʔəvrén - cé·ʔəvrén/

'have something remaining'

//ké·ʔuəkúʔ// → /kéʔevkú·ʔ - ké·ʔəvrén/

'to have given'

ve - u(ə) occur elsewhere.

ve occurs following a vowel or when two primary stresses precede in the word, e.g.

//kaníhɛ́nve// 'be in danger'

//lí·pəřevə// → /lí·pəřev/ 'have a book'

u(ə) occurs elsewhere finally, e.g.

//ho·lu// → /hó·lu/ 'have a friend'

//ho·luə// → /ho·luvə/ 'have a friend'

Examples of nouns with {uvə} are as follows:

kó·ɲu cin. 'I have a can'.

réhəve cin min ʔip hařáp. 'I have someplace I
must go tonight.'

təlaʔénve cin cúʔu. 'I have work to do.'

425.2 The reflexive {řε}

{řε} is distributed with several classes of words; other than in its occurrence as a verb suffix it forms a class with the possessive pronouns and indicates that the person named as possessor of the noun is the same person as the subject of the clause.

Examples of {řε}:

rúhul kumlé·ʔřε ʔan ɲam canó·cə. 'The storm is
increasing its strength.'

ʔətkó·ʔ cin tē né· kinláhañɛ. 'I was unable

because of these (my) temptations.'

ké·ʔə ŋam tasi·lə cu; hō· máy^lə vókñɛ cin. 'Bring

me my tackle box; I want to tie my hook'.

mátŋə ʔək có·n, nə ráʔaŋ patí·ʔñɛ. 'John ran away

from his home.'

500. Classifiers

A classifier is any word which may occur in the classifier position in the numerated noun phrase. The class meaning is 'a unit quantity of that denoted by the noun it modifies.'

The data available pertaining to numeral classifiers is not as complete as one might hope; full study of each might reveal more restricted distribution than those stated here.

Most of the classifiers also belong to the noun class; those {taka} h are only classifiers are as follows:

{ta}{noŋ}	'a person'
{no}{má·ʔ}	'an animal; a long, slender object'
{má}{kaŋén}	'a plant or tree'
{kaŋén}	'kind, type'

An example of a stem which is both a noun and a classifier is {tahó·l}, seen in the following:

/ʔá·mheŋ tahó·l ʔey/ 'How many pairs (of fish)
have you caught?'

/héŋ tahó·l kúk/ 'One pair of coconuts.'

Most nouns (except those in the animate personal class other than {kú·n} 'one's children') may occur with more than one classifier, nearly always with a contrast in meaning. Most nouns which may occur without a classifier when numerated may optionally occur with

a classifier, again with contrast in meaning. These statements apply especially to nouns in the inanimate class.

e.g.

/hén kúk/	'one coconut'
/hén misá·kə kúk/	'one sack of coconuts'
/hén mikí·cə kúk/	'one plucked coconut'
/hén tahó·l kúk/	'one pair of coconuts'

However, some nouns of other classes may occur contrastively with more than one classifier, e.g.

/hén tasím ?á·p/	'a one arm's-span wide canoe'
/hén noŋ ?á·p/	'one canoe'

The only pair of classifiers which do not seem to contrast are {manák} and {taka},

e.g.

/hén taka kú·n/	'one son'
/hén manák kú·n/	'one son'

It should be noted, however, that manák only occurs with {kú·n} and refers to one's offspring, while {taka} is a general classifier for the personal animate class.

The classifiers are presented here under headings of the noun class membership of the nouns with which they have been found. Limitations of distributions of the classifiers with nouns are largely of semantic consideration. The listing is complete for my data.

Animate personal

manák	'an offspring' (occurs only with {kú·n} 'one's children')
taka	'a person'

Animate non-personal

má·ʔ	'a plant or tree'
noŋ	'an animal; a long slender object'

Inanimate, animate non-personal

tahó·l	'a pair'
tá·k	'a flat object; money'

Inanimate

kamsó·ŋe	'a boxful'
kumvó·ke	'a basketful'
lá·ʔ	'side' (noun); a body part which is paired, e.g. arm, eye, ear, etc. (classifier)
micú·re	'a portion, bit'
miká·le	'slice'
miké·le	'an arm's length (fingertip to center of chest)'
mikí·ce	'a fruit or egg'
miláha	'a bunch of bananas'
milí·me	'a parcel, packet'
milí·ce	'something which has been plucked or picked out (selected)'
milóho	'a small piece'

minít	'a minute'
miná'í	'a jarful'
mirú·ŋə	'a bundle'
miřé·	'a side'
miří·kə	'a piece, verse'
misá·ka	'a sackful'
mité·ka	'a row'
mití·ne	'a canful'
miyú·lə	'a bundle, packet'
mufí·tə	'a section of coconut (shell plus kernel)'
mumú·lə	'a ball of pandanus paste'
mupó·kə	'a bunch, cluster (of fruit), string (of fish)'
pumlí·ne	'a bottleful'
tamní·ye	'a potful'
tasím	'an arm's span measure - from fingertip to fingertip'
tí·?	'a beating; something done with the hand'

All common nouns

kaŋɛn	'kind, type'
micé·mə	'a score (= 20)'
mihé·rə	'kind, type'
túm	'a bunch, group'

600. Numeration

610. The series numerals comprise most of the numerator class. They themselves constitute a subclass due to their occurrence in sequence in counting. The system is essentially decimal, with single words for the numbers from one to nine, and for ten, times ten, hundred, and thousand. Competing systems occur for the numerals from ten to twenty.

The unit numerals consist of two words for one, namely {kahó·k}, which is used only in numeration, and {hén}, which is used both in numeration, and in indefinite situations where 'a' would be a better translation; a subclass N_1 consisting of the numerals from two to nine, respectively {né·t, lú·y, fé·n, tanáy, tafú·l, sát, hévhē̃ε, macúhtē̃ε}; and the numeral for ten, {sí·n}.

Allomorphy:

{hén}: hén ∞ hén ∞ hé·η

hén occurs with {ka-} 'distributive', i.e.

/kahén/ 'one at a time';

hé·η occurs with {ta-} 'nominal', i.e.

/tahé·η/ 'other, another'

hén occurs elsewhere, e.g. /təhén/ 'one'

(adj.); /hén/ 'one' (num.)

{kahó·k}: kahó·k $\overset{f}{\sim}$ kahúk 'one'

{né·t}: né·t ∞ ?ané·t 'two'

né·t occurs unprefixated and with {te-}

'adj.', i.e. nē̃·t 'two'; tenē̃·t

'which is two'

?ané·t occurs elsewhere, e.g. ka?anē·t 'two at a time'

{hévħēřε}: h évħēřε $\frac{f}{2}$ h é·vəřε 'eight' (h évħēřε preferred)

{macúhtēřε}: macúhtēřε ∞ macú·tēřε 'nine'.

(While /macúhtēřε/ was given as the only acceptable form by Mr. James, /macú·tēřε/ was given as a freely varying alternant by Mr. Matthew and as the only form by Whitehead.)

{sí·n}: -sí·n ∞ sím 'teen, ten'

sím occurs when {sí·n} is preceded by word juncture, e.g. /sím/ 'ten'; /sím keñ/ 'ten thousand'

-sí·n occurs elsewhere, e.g. /kahó·ksí·n/ 'eleven', /macúhtēřεsí·n/ 'nineteen', /tasím/ 'a fathom, yard.'

{sí·n} may be preceded by {kahó·k} or a member of class N_1 to form the teens from eleven to nineteen, i.e.

N_{tn} : $+(N_1, \{kahó·k\}) + \{sí·n\}$

Examples: /kahó·ksí·n/ 'eleven'

/tanáysí·n/ 'fifteen'

The tens from ten to a hundred are indicated by {?aná·y} 'a group of ten' preceded by either {hén}, a unit from two to nine, or {sí·n}. The numbers between the tens are indicated optionally by adding a unit numeral

to the appropriate word for the ten, i.e.

U: {hén}, N₁, {sí·n}

N_{ty}: + U + {ʔaná·y} ± (U, {kahó·k})

Examples: /hén ʔaná·y/ 'ten'

/hévħēřε ʔaná·y tanáy/ 'eighty five'

The numerals from ten to nineteen are more frequently indicated by the construction with {sí·n} than by the construction with hén ʔaná·y. hén ʔaná·y has an idiomatic use in which it refers specifically to pairs, e.g. /hén ʔaná·y lú·y/ 'thirteen pairs'.

The hundreds are indicated by {róŋ} 'hundred' preceded by a member of class U. The numbers between the hundreds are indicated optionally by adding after {róŋ} either a unit numeral or either of the two constructions for the teens or tens, i.e.

$$N_{\text{hun}}: + U + \{róŋ\} \pm \begin{cases} U, \{kahó·k\} \\ N_{\text{tn}} \\ N_{\text{ty}} \end{cases}$$

Examples: /nē·tón kahó·ksí·n/ 'two hundred eleven'

/macúħtēřε rón hén ʔaná·y sát/ 'nine hundred
seventeen'

hénón 'one hundred' is far more frequently used than sí·n ʔaná·y 'ten tens'.

{róŋ} also occurs with {kahó·k}, idiomatically, to mean 'an odd one' (in counting pairs), e.g.

2 3 3 3 3 2 2

/hén ʔaná·y kahó·k, kahó·kón, -kóʔaró·ʔ./ 'Koʔaró·ʔ got eleven pairs and an odd one'.

Allomorphy:

{róη}: róη - -óη 'hundred'

róη occurs after unstressed syllables, e.g.

/macúhtēē róη/ 'nine hundred';

/hévhtēē róη/ 'eight hundred'

-óη occurs elsewhere, e.g. (/hé·ηóη/)

'one hundred'; /tafú·lóη/ 'six hundred'

The thousands are indicated by {kēñ} 'thousand' preceded by any of the numeral constructions thus far presented or a unit numeral other than {kahó·k}. To indicate the numbers between the thousands, {kēñ} is followed by any of the above constructions or any unit numeral, i.e.

$$N_{U-hun}: N_{hun}, N_{ty}, N_{tn}, U$$

$$N_{num}: + N_{U-hun} + \{kēñ\} \pm \begin{cases} \{kahó·k\} \\ N_{U-hun} \end{cases}$$

Examples:

<u>Construction</u>	<u>Form</u>
$(N_{hun} + \{kēñ\} + N_{hun})$	/hénóη fé·n ?aná·y fé·n kēñ nē·tóη lú·y ?aná·y kahó·k/ 'one hundred forty four thousand two hundred thirty one'
$(N_{tn} + \{kēñ\} + U)$	/nē·tsí·n kēñ tanáy/ 'twelve thousand five'
$(U + \{kēñ\})$	/hén kēñ/ 'one thousand'

Allomorphy:

{kəñ}: kəñ $\frac{f}{f}$ kēñ 'thousand'

Certain of the numerators presented above occur in derivative constructions. Derivatives with {-am-} 'agentive' and {-in-} 'gerund' are nouns and are described in the discussion of noun stems. The unit numerals also occur with the prefix {ka-} 'distributive'; the resulting form seems to be a numeral but is too infrequent in the data for definite classification; e.g.

/kahéŋ/ 'one at a time', {héŋ} 'one'
 /kaʔanē·t/ 'two at a time', {né·t} 'two'
 /háŋ kə kalú·y nəŋ yíʔi, hō· yí·ʔ, ʔət laŋán./
 'Each of you take three torches so that you will not be burdened.'

Non-series numerators are termed quantifiers; there are two classes, referred to as Q_1 and Q_2 .
 620. The quantifier class designated by Q_1 shares all the distributional properties of the series numerator class excluding occurrence in the series. {ʔá·m} 'How many' is an exception; it occurs only sentence initially. The class consists of the following four morphemes.

{ʔá·m} 'how many', e.g. /ʔá·m manák kú·n ʔəm?/

'How many children do you have.'

{haróhtúm} 'some', e.g. /haróhtúm tá·k kahé·ʔti

man, tə řupí·ʔ./ 'Give me some money.'

{ró·l} 'many', e.g. /ró·l má·ʔ có·n/ 'many trees'

{tahé·ŋ} 'others, another', e.g. /tahé·ŋ nóŋ ká·?/
'another fish'

Q_2 is a set of six morphemes relating to size which are distributed with a common set of suffixes, among which are three of the suffix configurations of the Numerator inflectional constructions (sec.): incremental, incorporated object, and qualifier. Four of the members of Q_2 are also members of the verb stem class S_3 ; they are called quantifier verbs (V_q) and are as follows:

{pó·y} 'be many, great, much'
{kū·n} 'be small, few'
{řahéc} 'be little (in amount)'
{mařó·?} 'be long'

The other two members of Q_2 are also nouns; they are called quantifier nouns (N_q) and are as follows:

{řó·?} 'length' and {ró·k} 'size, amount'

There are two suffixes, {én} 'quantity' and {ə_g} 'size', which are restricted in distribution to occurrence with three members of Q_2 : {pó·y}, {kū·n}, and {ró·k}.

{én} 'quantity'

én - yén

yén occurs after a palatal consonant; the single example is //řahécyén// 'be little' (of a non-countable substance.)

én occurs elsewhere, i.e.

//pó·yén// 'be many'

//kú·nén// 'be few' (of countable objects)

The verb stem members of Q_2 with {én} and {əg} are distributed like a numerator plus a classifier, e.g.

//pó·yén minrē·rə an.// 'It has many sides.' (Great-size side it.)

//kū·nén nun né· kanú·c.// 'There are few pencils.' (Small-size they these pencil.)

//kū·nə an ŋam tañík.// 'The man is small.' (Small-size he the man.)

Two of the Q_2 stems, {pó·y} and {ró·k}, occur suffixed with {ti} and {tá·k} when they refer to objects which are, respectively, relatively long and narrow, or broad. {ti} has been found only with these two stems and means 'long and narrow'; {tá·k} is identified elsewhere as the classifier for broad, flat objects.

E.g.

//pó·ytá·k ən ŋam mí·s.// 'It is a wide table.'
(Great-breadth it the table.)

//pó·yti ən ŋam tahé·l.// 'It is a wide river.'
(Great-width it the river.)

//iró·ktá·k ən ŋih mí·s?// 'What is the width of this table?' (How-great-breadth it this table?)

630. Numerator Inflection

The unit numerals and the quantifiers occur with five types of inflectional suffixes: incorporated object, adverbial, attributive, incremental, and qualifier. Two of these suffix types - the incorporated object and the incremental - also occur with verbs in essentially the same usage.

Numeral inflection pertains to unit numerals and quantifiers. With bi-morphemic numerators (or larger) the suffix is affixed to the unit numeral. The symbols used below to designate the stem are as follows:

Numerators (Unit Numerals, Q_1): NUM

Quantifier verb: V_q

Quantifier noun: N_q

631. The Incorporated object quantifier consists of a numerator or a quantifier verb plus {qə} 'incorporated object' followed by a directional suffix (D) or {hət} 'into, to the interior'. {qə}, the directional suffixes, and {hət} also occur with verbs.

Incorporated object quantifier:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{NUM} \\ V_q \end{array} \right\} + \{qə\} + \left[\begin{array}{l} D \\ \{hət\} \end{array} \right]$$

The following special phonological rule pertains to {qə}:

SR: $\text{ə} \rightarrow \text{a} / _ \text{Ca}$

I.e.

//pó·yqəta// → /pó·yhata/ 'do many toward'

This paradigm expresses direction or aspect pertaining to the number or quantity of actions accomplished with respect to an unspecified object, which may in fact be clarified by a satellite phrase. The examples should clarify this meaning.

E.g.

//fĕ·nhet cin, fôhə.// 'I am beaten four times.'

(Four-in I, beaten.)

//lú·yqel mité·m cin, i ró·y có·n.// 'I was up

in a tree branch three nights.' (Three-up night I, in branch tree.)

//řahécqeta man, te cí·ni, ?ín cu.// 'Give me a

little sugar.' (little-toward you, of sugar, to me.)

//haróhtúmçeta man, te piřúm.// 'Give me some

lead.' (Some-to you, of lead.)

//hĕqçĕñ cin, fĕ·l tařík.// 'I have killed one

man.' (One-out I, kill man.)

//lú·yqĕñ cin.// 'I caught three.' (Three-out I.)

Perhaps a more literal translation of this last example would be "I 'outed' three." This is the sense of the predication in each of the above examples; the specific object or type of action referred to by the Incorporated object quantifier is stated optionally.

632. The Adverbial numeral consists of a numerator plus either of the morphemes {háh} 'time (of repetition)' and {ván} 'time (of going)'.

Adverbial numeral: NUM + $\left[\begin{array}{l} \{háh\} \\ \{ván\} \end{array} \right.$

The Adverbial numerator indicates the number of times an action is accomplished. Its distribution is predicational, either in the clause nucleus or satellite.

E.g.

//hénháh ək yĩŋ ʔinyú·nə.// 'Once there was a fierce battle.' (One-time it fierce battle.)

//ró·lháh cin, kiřé·nəřε.// 'I frequently go walking.' (Many-time I, walk.)

//ʔá·mván əm, cúh řá·ñci?// 'How many times did you go to Ranchi?' ([How many]-time do-you, [go to] Ranchi?)

//ró·lván cin, cúh ʔíntεá.// 'I went to India many times.' (Many-time I, go India.)

//mákan cin, hénháh, nə ʔulá·ya.// 'Once I saw him stealing.' (See-him I, one-time, he stealing.)

633. The Attributive numeral consists of a numerator plus {ə₇} 'attributive'.

Attributive numeral: NUM + {ə₇}

The Attributive is the obligatory form of an otherwise unsuffixed numeral when it modifies and unclassified noun and occurs either directly before the noun or sentence finally.

E.g. //ʔá·mə tú·ʔ əm mēhʔə?// 'How many sinkers do you have?' ([How many] sinker you yourself?)

//ké·ʔtə lí·pə̃ɛ cu man hãóhtúmə.// 'Give me some books.' (Give-to book me you some.)

//lú·yə kahé·ʔ man tə lí·pə̃ɛ.// 'Take three books.' (Three [what is taken] you of book.)

Compare

//lú·y má· kahé·ʔ man tə có·n.// 'Take three plants' (Three classifier [what is taken] you of plant.)

//né·tə lí·pə̃ɛ cin.// 'I have two books.' (Two book I.)

Compare

//né·t mikíca ʔuhé· cin.// 'I have two eggs.' (Two classifier egg I.)

Note the following example of numerators modifying unclassified nouns but occurring neither directly before the noun nor sentence-finally:

//mák patí·ʔ cin fé·n, i kú·y řó·nə.// 'I see four houses on top of the hill.' (See house I four, on top hill.)

//tílló·nɛ man haróhtúm tə lí·pə̃ɛ.// 'Select some books.' (Choose-wish-self you some of book.)

634. The Incremental quantifier consists of a numerator, a quantifier verb or a quantifier noun plus either of the directional suffixes {l} 'up' or {t} 'toward; down', plus the suffix configuration of the Reflexive passive verb, i.e. {ə₆} 'reflexive stem extending suffix' and {řε} 'reflexive'.

Incremental quantifier:
$$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{NUM} \\ V_q \\ N_q \end{array} \right\} + \left[\begin{array}{c} \{l\} \\ \{t\} \end{array} \right] + \{ə_6\} + \{řε\}$$

It is possible that other directional suffixes may occur in this construction; these are the only two attested. The suffix configuration here is identified as the same as that of the Reflexive passive verb because in addition to sharing the same shape the two constructions also share the meaning of increment of the stem. The Incremental quantifier occurs adjectivally or predicationally, with or without a following attributive noun.

E.g.

//fě·ntěřε sumkám cin, kapáh.// 'I will die in four days.' (Four-increasing-to day I, die.)

//tánj cin min, umúh, i əp tē tafú·ltěřε sumkám.//
'I will be there in six more days.' (Arrive I will, there, in it of six-increasing-to day.)

//tanáylěřε máyl an.// 'The meter has reached five miles.' (Five-increasing-up mile it.)

//pó·ylěřε ən ŋam mák εl ŋam tahé·l.// 'The water in the river is increasing.' (Great-increasing it the water in the river.)

635. The Qualifier quantifier consists of a numerator, a quantifier verb or a quantifier noun plus either of the morphemes {tít} 'remain' or {vát} 'portion, share'.

Qualifier quantifier:
$$\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{NUM} \\ \text{V}_q \\ \text{N}_q \end{array} \right\} + \left[\begin{array}{l} \{\text{tít}\} \\ \{\text{vát}\} \end{array} \right]$$

This may well be a residual rather than a formal class of suffixes; there is no logical reason why the two suffixes could not co-occur, however they are not so attested - neither with numerals nor with verbs, with which {tít} also occurs. The quantifier with {tít} indicates the number remaining or left over; with {vát} it indicates the number, quantity or size of portions. The qualifier quantifier occurs predicationally or in the numerated noun phrase.

E.g.

//sím̄tít nun.// 'Ten remain.' (Ten-remain they.)

//lú·ytít tá·k cé·ʔrén in.// 'We have three rupees left' (Three-remain [flat object classifier] remainder we.)

//pó·yvát man, méhʔe.// 'You have a big share.'
(Great-share you, you.)

The evidence of the occurrence of {vát} with numerals is from Whitehead:

heŋ vat tamk̄·ne teŋ haʔun. 'One leg (lit. thigh)
of this pig (as food).'

700. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns consist of a paradigmatic set of twenty forms based on five demonstrative roots with or without either or both of the affixes {am} 'distal' and {?a} 'specificative'. They are distributed both adjectivally and pronominally.

Categories of animate-inanimate (See Nouns, Sec.) and number are implicit in the demonstrative stem (DS); without affixation of {-am-} the demonstratives are proximal, as follows:

{ŋʂh} 'this (sg. anim.)'

{vé·} 'these (pl. anim.)'

{ná·} 'these (du. anim.)'

{ŋih} 'this (sg. inan.)' ŋih∞ŋúh

ŋúh occurs with {am} 'distal', e.g. /ŋamúh/ 'that'

ŋih occurs elsewhere, e.g. /ŋih/ 'this'

{né·} 'these (pl. inan.)'

In some descriptive constructions where predication is effected without a verb the demonstrative stems occur in the subject phrase with a force only of number and anim./inan. designation. It is only in this usage that the demonstratives do not refer to objects that are necessarily visible and in view, e.g.

/ʔet sinrō·lu nun nĕ· haʔún./ 'Pigs have no horns.'

/tetlé·n ʔen nĭh milíp./ 'Selfishness is bad.'

/maʔaláhave yin vé· kupáh./ 'The dead have spirits.'

Demonstrative force is achieved by use of a second identical demonstrative following and in apposition to the subject phrase, e.g.

/técí·ʔta ʔan nóh kanŭ·c, nóh./ 'This is a short pen.'

/tavá·y nun nĕ· yanĕ·tə, nĕ·./ 'These jewels are pretty.'

710. Distal forms of each of the above demonstratives are derived by the morpheme {am} 'distal' by the following construction:

DS_d: {-am-} + DS

(SR: {-am-} + {vé·} → //mĕ·// 'those (anim.)' This form could be treated as //mi-// + //vé·// with a morphophonemic rule for loss of //iv// before a stressed vowel, then regular mid-vowel lowering after a nasal would account for the /ε/. But while there is no evidence contradictory to such an interpretation, it is simpler to write the special rule given here.) E.g.

/ŋamóh/ 'that (anim.)' /minĕ·/ 'those (pl. inan.)'

Allomorphy:

{-am-} -am- ∞ mi-

mi- occurs with stems beginning with //n//,

e.g. /minĕ·/ 'those (pl. inan.)'

-am- occurs with stems beginning with //ŋ//,

e.g. /ŋamúh/ 'that (inan.)'

The distal demonstratives are not as general in usage as are the proximal stems; a by-product of this fact is that proximal forms are about two and a half times more frequent in the data than are distal forms.

When used attributively, the primary force of both proximal and distal unemphasized demonstrative pronouns is one of definitizing and number designation, with a secondary force of proximal-distal.

/kavál 'ihón yin, mě· nī'?./ 'The children are throwing stones.'

/mā'?' 'ən ŋóh ta'ó·kə, tə ró'?' vé· 'áh pú'?./ 'The Nicobarese say the coconut is chief.'

/la'óh 'ən nih kalrě·n cu./ 'My leg is broken.'

/pitěř, katá·nlə mině· lónpén cu man./ 'Peter, press my long pants.' (Peter press these [long pants]-my you.)

720. The emphatic morpheme {'a} '(specificative)' is used when the speaker is pointing to or somehow emphatically singling out the object in question.

Emphatic: DS } + {'a}
DS_d }

Examples: /ŋí'ā/ 'this (sg. inan., specificative)'

/mé'ā/ 'those (pl. anim., specificative)'

/vé'a/ 'these (pl. anim., specificative)'

The emphatic demonstratives are quite specific in meaning; they have none of the general usages of the non-emphatic forms. These are the least frequently occurring demonstratives in the data.

Examples:

/tuřé·róŋ nun miné?ā róŋ ta?ó·kə./ 'Those coconuts
are reddish brown.'

/maró·?ta h́é?ə ?ən ŋóh tinkún, tə namó?ā tinkún./
'This stick is longer than that stick.'

It may be noted here that {?a} also occurs with the demonstrative adverbs {h́ih} 'here' and {múh} 'there', a pair of words which show implicit contrast for proximal-distal.

It is in the pronominal use of the demonstratives that the proximal-distal contrast is maximized.

/tařík ?aláha cu yin, vé./ 'These are my servants.'

/káp ?an namóh, kú·? hí·?, tətmək./ 'That's a
tortoise in front of us, Tətmak!'

/ŋóh ?ən có·n, ranéh tanĕ·c cu./ 'This is the first
tree I planted.'

/taŋĕ·? ?ən ŋih./ 'This is a bone.'

/sá·? miřún ŋih ?ən, ní?ā./ 'This (color) is like
this color.'

/sá·? ?əl mát róŋ ŋóh ?ən, namó?ā./ 'That (color) is
like (the color of) this fruit.'

730. Demonstrative contractions

{ η am}, { η ih} and { η oh} are contracted when they occur with { ?in } 'to, in' and { $t\epsilon$ } '(grammatical relator)'. The six forms, presented phonemically, are as follows; they are best described by allomorphy of the demonstrative.

	η am	η ih	η oh
$t\epsilon$	$t\epsilon m$	$t\epsilon \eta$	$t\epsilon \eta$
?i	?im	$\text{?i} \eta$	$\text{?i} \eta$

The allomorphic statement is as follows:

{ η am}:	η am - m	'The'
{ η ih}:	η ih - η	'This (inan.)'
{ η oh}:	η oh - η	'This (anim.)'

The longer allomorph occurs when preceded by juncture; the shorter allomorph occurs elsewhere.

800. Pronouns

810. Personal pronoun stems (including two third person non-personal stems as shown below) are inflected for five cases: subject, interrogative, subordinate, possessive, and emphatic. (These labels are not fully adequate but are a compromise between Whitehead's terms and the functions of the pronouns.)

The ten pronoun stems occurring in the paradigm are semantically complex, showing implicit contrast for categories drawn from three persons (first, second, third), three numbers (singular, dual, plural), inclusive/exclusive (relevant to first person non-singular only), and in the third person, animate/inanimate, personal/non-personal, very near and remote.

Dual and plural are explicitly marked in the first and second person and in the third person in the subject case. The third person dual and plural personal morpheme {ca} does not occur in the subject case, the respective second person forms being used instead.

Inclusive forms occur only in the possessive and emphatic cases, in which cases the first person dual and first person plural stems are specifically exclusive.

The third person singular very near morpheme occurs only in the subject case.

Table I shows the first and second person pronouns in all five cases; the third person forms are complete

Meaning: person morphemes	Person	Number	Subject 'non past, vis.' (in) ¹	Interrogative (e ₁) ²	Subordinate (e ₁)	Possessive unmarked	Emphatic 6('...?e)	
1sg.	{cu}	-	c ini	e cu	e c	cu	cu '...?e	
2sg.	{meh}	-	m ana	e meh	e m	meh	meh '...?e	
1du. (excl. in poss. & emph.)	{ay}	{a}	∅ a n	e ay ah	e ay	ay ∅	ay ∅ '...?e	
1 inclusive	{h}		-	-	-	h a·?	ay ah '...?e	
			h i·?	ay i·?	'...?e			
1pl. (excl. in poss. & emph.)	{y ₁ }	{i}	∅ i n	e y ih	e y	∅ ih	∅ ih '...?e	
2nd & 3rd pers. in subj.; elsewhere 2nd	{y ₂ }		y i na			y i·?	y i·? '...?e	
3non sg., (pers.)	{ca}	-	-	a ca	- ₃	ca	ca '...?e	
2nd & 3rd in subj.; elsewhere 2nd	{n}	{a}	n a n	a n ah	a n	n a·?	n a·? '...?e	
3sg. (near)	{e ₂ }	-	e ni	-	- ₃	-	-	
3sg. an.	{o} ⁴	-	a na	e aṅah		o	aṅah	'...?e ⁵
3sg. in.	{ε} ⁴	-		e eṅuh		ε	aṅuh	'...?e
3rd	{n} ⁴	{u}	n u n	e n uh		∅ u	an uh	'...?e

Table I: Personal pronoun morphemic composition

in the subordinate, possessive, and emphatic cases, but additional subject and interrogative forms are presented in section 811 . Person, number, and case allomorphs are presented in combination.

The meanings of the number morphemes are as follows: {a} 'dual, personal', {i} 'plural, personal', {u} 'non-singular, non-personal'.

While all the permissible morpheme sequences are presented in Table I, it is useful to summarize the constructions represented in the table, as follows:

	Subj.	Inter.	Subor.	Poss.	Emph.
Sg.	+P+{in}	+{ə}+P		+P	+P+{'..?ə}
Non-sg.	+P _p +N+{in}	+{ə}+P _p +N	+{ə}+P _p	+P _p +N	+P+N+{'..?ə}

P→{cu, meh, ə, ɔ, ε} P_p→{ay, h, y₁, y₂, ca, n} N→{a, i, u}

It may be noted at once that not all possibilities generated by these simplified, generalized constructional statements do in fact occur; the limitations and possibilities are shown by Table I.

Note also that the same construction generates both the Interrogative and Subordinate singular pronoun - while in Table I different number allomorphs are shown to occur in the two forms. As is alluded to in footnote 2 to Table I, the salient environmental difference is that the longer allomorphs are optional variants when the pronoun is the head of a subject phrase (see footnote 2 for examples).

Table Ib: Summary of morphemes occurring in the pronoun constructions presented in Table I.

Morpheme	Allomorphs	Meaning
<u>Person Morphemes</u>		
cu	c-cu	1sg.
meh	m-meh	2sg.
ay	a-ay	1du. (excl. in poss. and emph.)
h	h	1 incl.
y ₁	y-∅	1pl. (excl. in poss. and emph.)
y ₂	y	2 & 3pl. pers. in subj; elsewhere 2pl. pers.
ca	ca	3 non sg., pers.
n	n-an-∅	with {a} 'du., pers.' together with {in} 'non past, vis.': 2 & 3; elsewhere: 3
e ₂	e	3sg. near
o	o-aṅah	3sg. anim.
ε	ε-eṅuh-aṅuh	3sg. inan.
<u>Number, Personal/Non personal Morphemes</u>		
a	a-ah-a·?-∅	du., pers.
i	i-ih-i·?	pl., pers.
u	u-uh	non sg., non pers.

Table Ib, concluded

Morpheme	Allomorphs	Meaning
<u>Case Morphemes</u>		
in	ini-ana-n-na-ni	subj, non past, vis.
e ₁	e-a	inter.
'..?e	'..?e	emph.

Footnotes to Table I:

1. Subject case morphs ending in a vowel occur too infrequently in the data to allow definitive analysis. However, it seems to be true that the vowel optionally occurs if the pronoun is the unmodified head of the subject phrase; otherwise it does not occur.

E. g. //telalé·? takó·? əp(i).// 'It is very strong.'

//rá·c əl kúy ən ŋóh ní·?; wú·y ən(i), tə ló·n cu.// 'The child's head is hot; he has a fever, I think.'

But //tevá·y ən `ih sakáme, ŋih.// 'Today is a nice day.'

2. Final V and VC of the interrogative pronouns, like the final vowel of subject case morphs, occur optionally, and then only when the pronoun is the head of the subject phrase.

E. g. //rá·?ŋə yih əmɛh?// 'where have you come from?'

But //ʔisúh əm, méne//→ /ʔisúh ʔəm, méʔē/ 'where are you?'

Historically the long interrogative forms may well have developed from the sequence short interrogative plus emphatic, as shown in the sequence əm méʔē above.

The occurrence of final h in most of the interrogative forms is an interesting fact which does not yield to synchronic analysis.

3. Corresponding third person pronouns do not occur in the subordinate case. Functionally the particle {nə} 'subordinate third person' is substituted.

4. With the interrogative morpheme {ə₁} these morphemes all have a component 'visible'. An alternative analysis would be to consider the third person interrogative stem morphs as allomorphs of the demonstrative pronouns, all of which have a component 'visible'. Either interpretation seems acceptable.

5. //aŋáhʔə//→/ʔaŋáʔã/ is often contracted to /ʔaŋ/.

6. Stress invariably occurs on the preceding syllable.

It is interesting to note that allomorphs of the dual and plural morphemes have the shape V₁h in the interrogative case and V₁·ʔ in the possessive case. Complementation of /ʔ/ and /h/ with respect to presence or absence of preceding vowel length was mentioned in the discussion of these phonemes. One could on the basis of this complementation partially regularize the shapes of these morphs by various morphophonemic solutions, but the fact remains that the dual and plural morphs differ consistently in the interrogative and possessive cases by the same phonological factor, which is not segmentable.

The meaning of the morpheme {ə} 'near', found only in the one form eni 'third singular, non-past, visible, subject', is not in all cases clear. In most occurrences {ə} seems to indicate that the object is quite near the speaker. If a proximal demonstrative is used with a third person singular pronoun, {ə} must be used rather

than //a// of {ε} and {ɔ}. With distal forms of demonstratives //a// must occur.

E.g. //hú·ʔkə nap n̄í·ʔ, tən rú·lɲə ən n̄ih tañú·kne.//

'Call for the boys, for this torch is about to burn out.

//káp an, namóh.// 'That is a tortoise.'

Compare //talú·kketi an nam ʔinkín cu.// 'My float is going down.' (in fishing)

with //talú·kləɲə ən nam ʔinkín cu.// 'My float is coming up.'

But note //cá·tləɲə an nam n̄í·ʔ, t́s cu.// 'The boy is being lifted by me.'

However, some occurrences of {ə} contradict this interpretation, e.g.

//mařó·ʔvát ən nam lí·pəřε, nə rá·ʔɲə ʔihih.// 'The book is far from here.'

811. Tense/visibility morphemes with third person pronouns.

Subject case morphemes contrasting with {in} 'non-past, vis.', are {p} 'non-past, not vis.', and {k} 'past.' These tense/visibility morphemes occur only with third person pronoun morphemes. The subject case forms derived with {p} and {k} occur as stems in the derivation of a set of what appears to be vestigial interrogative case forms. As with the subject and interrogative forms in the preceding section the final V or VC sequence occurs only if the pronoun is the head of the subject phrase, and then it is optional. With the pronouns presented here, however, a final vowel in the

	Non past, not vis. {p}		Past {k}	
	Subject (unmarked)	Interrog. {a}	Subject	Interrogative {a}
Singular:				
Remote (Neutral)	e	pi -	-	-
Dual: personal (n)	a	pa	eh	kuh -
Du-Pl: non-personal(n)	na	pa	na	k (data lacking)
Plural personal {y ₂ }	nu	pa	nu	ku
	yi	pa	yi	ku

Table II: 3rd person 'not visible' and 'past', Subject and Interrogative pronouns.

interrogative case is the interrogative case morph; thus interrogative designation is very marginal. (Functionally pitch indicates the contrast.) Chart presents the subject and interrogative case third person pronouns in {p} and {k}.

'Non-past' encompasses the present, future, and very recent past. 'Past' refers to the distant past or a recent past event not connected by the speaker with the time frame from within which he is speaking. Compare the following:

//ʔasúh əp laʔén məh, in tə taháy?// 'What work have you done today?'

//ʔasúh ək laʔén náʔ?// 'What work did you (du.) do?'

The visibility component refers to whether or not the referent is in the view of the speaker at the time of speaking. Compare the following:

//ʔuřéh an ɣam hól cu.// 'My friend (vis.) is first.'

//ʔuřéh əp hól cu.// 'My friend (not vis.) is first.'

{ə} 'remote' occurs only in the single form epi 'third singular remote, non past, not visible.' The meaning of this morpheme is unclear, but in at least some cases it indicates relative remoteness in contrast with //a// of {s} and {o}.

E.g. //ʔacih əp miné.ʔnə ɔʔ// 'What is his name?' (Of a person not present).

//ʔacih əp miné.ʔnə məh?// 'What is your name?'

But əp also may refer to referents that are very remote.

E.g. //hén rólhaka ap, nə i kúy ap kasónĩe.// 'But
 he is just lying on his box (on the moon)'.

{hé·} 'each other' is a form which is distributed with the possessive pronouns in their occurrence as objects of transitive verbs and after the directional locative {ʔín}.

E.g.

//tá·phén hé· nun miné· lí·pəĩe.// 'The books are
 flush to each other.' ([Flush with]-[reciprocal]
 each-other they these book.)

//tá·p yin, nə ʔín hé·.// 'They are always together.'
 ([Flush with] they, they with each-other.)

820. The distribution of the personal pronouns from Table I is as follows.

Subject pronouns occur as the subject of non-interrogative independent clauses.

//halíyñə hilá· man.// 'Hang out the cloth.'

(Cause-wave-out cloth you.)

//nacátŋén ək lí·pəŋə cin.// 'I lost the book.'

(Cause-[be lost]-away-[involuntary action] it-[not-visible; past] I.)

//ŋác in yíh, ət mík kuyá·yə.// 'Now we do

not see the seashore.' (Now we oh!, not see seashore.)

Interrogative pronouns occur as the subject of interrogative clauses, which may be used either (1) interrogatively or (2) exclamatorily.

(1) //haʔén əc?// 'Am I late?' (Late-[involuntary] I.)

//sítih kanó·ʔneváh tí·ʔ əm, té ɔ?//

'How did you catch it? (How ability-[perfective]-insistently do you, to it?)

(2) //iró·ŋə əc vé· tańík.// 'How many men there are!' (How-[great number] they these men.)

Subordinate pronouns occur as the subject of subordinate clauses.

//nalé·n nup ʔinyútɾɛ mán, ɲác hǒ· há· min,
ay mátnə.// 'Prepare your clothes so we
 can steal away.' (Make-ready the-visible
 clothes-your you, [and then] so we will,
we hide-away.)

//káhí·thé·káha əc vó·k, ɲác havítkəɾɛ.//
 'Immediately after bathing I walked a-
 round.' (Finish-after-body I bathe, and
 walk-[imperfective]-self.)

//kasále məh cin, əm tisókɲə kúy ɲih mák.//
 'I dare you to jump across this well.'
 (Dare you I, you jump-away over this
 water.)

Possessive pronouns occur as the object of a (1)
 verb or (2) preposition, as (3) the possessor
 of a noun, or as (4) the subject of a subordi-
 nate pronoun.

(1) //ʔənnén hí·?, lím pó·p hí·?, inɾé.//
 'Prepare betel leaves and our tobacco
 also.' ([Make betel quid us, roll
 tobacco our also.)

(2) //kaláh cin min, yih ʔin məh.// 'I will
 try to come to you.' (Try I will, come
 to you.)

//acih ap min kumɾé·nɲəɾɛ, tə yí·?.//
 'Which of you will go?' (Which it-
 [visible, non-past] will [one who
 goes]-away-self, of you?)

(3) //yĩŋ! ró·kén vé· hól hí·?// 'Oh! These friends of ours are so numerous.'

(Oh! Great-quantity these friend our.)

//káp an ŋamóh, i kú·?·hí·?, tətmək.//

'That is a tortoise in front of us, Tətmək.' (Tortoise it that, at face our, Tətmək.)

(4) //haŋé·? likínřε pəmce, hǒ· cu řé·nlěε, i miné· sinřó·l msh.// 'Stretch your neck up as far as you can, so that I can stand on your horns.' (Make-hard neck-your [obligational], so I stand-up-self, on these horn your.)

Emphatic pronouns occur as (1) the subject of non-interrogative independent clauses, as (2) an appositive subject, as (3) a predicate, and as (4) a demonstrative, following the noun it modifies. In its use as the clause subject, the emphatic pronoun, in contrast to the subject pronoun, indicates definiteness or certitude, and is thus usually used in narration of stories or past events.

(1) //líkle tə haví·ŋε cá?ə, pən latókketi nuk tə?aŋǔ·?// 'They went up by a cobweb because the creepers were broken down.' ([Go-via]-up by cobweb they,

because-[it is that] break-[imperfective]-down they-[not visible, past] creeper.)

(2) //mákán cin, cú'ə.// 'I saw him myself.'

(See-him I, myself.)

(3) //cú'ə cin, tə'amínu, təm lí-pəñe.// 'I

am the owner of the book.' (I I, who-owner, of-the book.)

(4) //halñeñe an ik haté·m anúh'ə.// 'He

writhed that night.' (Writhe-self he in-it-past night that.)

As has been mentioned, the third person 'not visible' and 'past' subject and interrogative pronouns are distinguished only when an interrogative form occurs as head of a subject phrase in an interrogative sentence, where the terminal V or VC is optional. Everywhere else the subject forms occur. Interrogative examples have been given. Examples of the subject pronouns, according to their function, are presented below.

Subject of independent clause

//ihih ek tahíy.// 'He was just here? (Here he-[past, not visible] just.)

//asuh ap min, kahé·'tə cu?// 'What shall I give?' (What it-[non-past] will, [what is given] my.)

//hanó·rhétue nuk, té cu.// 'They have been driven in by me.' (Drive-in-[passive] they-[past], by me.)

//ʔət ihíh əp, cɔ·n?// 'Isn't John here?' (Not here he-[non-past], John.)

Demonstrative

//ʔacíh əp lumkún əp əlmé·ri.// 'Who is rattling the cupboard?' (Who it-[non-past] rattler it-[visible] cupboard.)

//piŋáŋkú·ʔ cin, tɛ rɔ·kə əp iskú·l yí·ʔ.// 'I'm surprised at how large your school is.' ([Be surprised] I, by [great size] it-[non-past, visible] school your.)

There are two examples of ək as a relative pronoun; in both examples the relative clause is descriptive of the subject itself, e.g.

//cátŋén ək nuá· cu, ək tɛ sinró·luə.// 'My bull which has horns is lost.' ([Be-lost]-[involuntary] it-[past, not visible] bull my, it-[past, not visible] of horn-have.)

//cátŋén ək haʔún cu, ək tɛ lamrítuə.// 'My pig which has a tail is lost.'

830. There are a number of uninflected words which, when occurring before pronouns, regularly contract with them. The more aberrant forms are presented in Table III. There are in addition contractions with the following:

{ʔín} 'in, to' plus a 3rd. sg. non-visible or past pronoun ({ʔín} has the allomorph //i// in this environment);

{tɛ} '(grammatical relator)' plus a 3rd. sg. non-

visible or past pronoun or a subordinate pronoun;

{tə₁} '(imperative)' plus a 1st person subordinate pronoun.

All of the above forms involve contiguity of the grammatical particle and the pronoun without intervening juncture with resultant morphophonemic sequences of schwa plus a vowel other than schwa, with either vowel preceding. In each instance the schwa is lost. A single exception is /tʰʊʔ/ ({tə} + {ʊ}) in which loss of juncture follows glottal stop prothesis, a regular morphophonemic rule.

An additional pronominal contraction involves the contraction of {nə + hén} to //nən//. {nə} is the third person subordinate pronoun substitute; {hén} is a verbal auxiliary, 'only'. The contraction involves the loss of the //hə// of {hén}, which might better be described as having an allomorph //ŋ// in this position were it not for the plethora of contractions in the language.

Table III presents the phonemic shapes of the relatively aberrant pronominal contractions, which involve consonant and/or length loss, length addition, alternant forms, or infixation. In general, the rule applies that of adjacent vowels of which one is a schwa, the schwa is dropped. Note, however, that this does not pertain to {pʰʊʔ}. Of stems ending in h the

subordinate pronoun		{yé·}	{hõ·}	{pó·?}	{?úh}	{řéh}	{pēcē}
		'if'	'so that'	'because'	'(negative imperative)'	'(negative interrogative)'	'(obligational)'
1sg	ēc	yé·c	hõ·c	pēc - pēc	?úc	řé·c	pēcē
2sg	ēm	yé·m	hõ·m	pēm - pēm	?úm	řé·m	pēmē
1du	ay	yé·ay	-	pó·?ay		řá·y	paycē
2du	an	yé·an	-	-		řá·n	pancē
1pl	ey	yé·y	hõ·y	-	?úy	řé·y	peycē
2pl	ey	yé·y	hõ·y	poy - pey	?úy	řé·y	peycē
3sg	o + n			pó·?on			
3pl	ca + n			pó·?can			
3*	n	yé·n	hõ·n	pon - pen	?ún	řé·n	pencē

*undifferentiated as to number

Blank: combination does not occur

-: not in data

Table III: Pronominal Contractions

h is lost. Additional statements are as follows.

The //n// of third person forms is an allomorph of {nə} 'subordinate third person', the statement being as follows:

nə - n

n occurs as a bound form

e.g. //pó·?can// 'because they...'

nə occurs as a free form

e.g. //yé· ɔ, nə// 'if he...'

Contractions with {yé·} and {hō·} involve simply the loss of the initial ə of the pronoun, e.g.

//hō·əm// → /hō·m/ 'that you'

//yé·əy// → /yé·y/ 'if we'

In all of the contractions with {yé·} and {hō·} length is optionally (but usually) lost, with accompanying loss of stress, e.g.

/yé·m - yem/ 'if you...' /hō·n - hōn/ 'that they...'

In forms with adjacent short vowels, the second is stressed, i.e.

/yeáy/ 'if we two...' /yeán/ 'if you two...'

The single {pó·?} forms involve regular morpho-phonemic rules for adjacent segments, e.g.

//pó·?ay// → /pó?ay/ 'because we two...'

The alternant {pó·} forms have the shape //pɔ - pə// plus the subordinate pronoun, with regular loss of schwa. Historically the {pó·?} contractions

probably developed from a special rule $\acute{o}\cdot\text{?}\text{e} \rightarrow \text{o} - \text{e}$, i.e., loss of ? and competition between the o of $\{\text{p}\acute{o}\cdot\text{?}\}$ and the e of the pronoun in the weak-stressed environment. However, the third person undifferentiated forms, which are clearly parallel, do not involve e in the pronominal form and are not describable in the same terms. Thus the allomorphic statement as given is more appropriate.

Note that $\{\text{p}\acute{o}\cdot\text{?}\}$ has third person forms that are differentiated for number, along side the undifferentiated forms. The undifferentiated forms have either singular or plural reference.

$\{\text{p}\text{e}\text{c}\text{e}\}$ contractions involve regular schwa loss and are aberrant only in that they involve infixation of the subordinate pronoun.

The third person undifferentiated forms of $\{\text{?}\acute{u}\text{h}\}$ and $\{\text{r}\acute{e}\text{h}\}$ both involve the loss of h before the following n , the $\{\text{r}\acute{e}\text{h}\}$ form also having vowel length. The other $\{\text{r}\acute{e}\text{h}\}$ and $\{\text{?}\acute{u}\text{h}\}$ forms involve loss of the final h plus contraction according to the rule that of two adjacent vowels which include a schwa the schwa is lost. The $\{\text{r}\acute{e}\text{h}\}$ contractions also all have compensatory lengthening.

900. Verbs are identified by their distribution in verbal syntactic constructions and by their occurrence in the morphological constructions presented in this chapter.

Stems are described according to composition and distribution. Compositionally defined stem classes are presented below; presentation of distributionally defined stem classes is deferred to the discussion of verb inflection.

910. Verb stem composition

Internal criteria define two types of stems: simple stems and derived stems.

911. Simple stems (S)

There are three types of simple stems: roots, compounds, and primary stem derivatives.

911.1. Stems which are identical to root morphemes.

Nearly all verb roots are of the shape $C\acute{V}C$ or $CVC\acute{V}C$. However there are a few roots of the shapes $CV\acute{V}C$ and $CVCV\acute{V}C$. Examples of monomorphemic verb roots are as follows:

{s \acute{i} ·p}	'to grow'
{n \acute{e} ·k}	'to tie'
{k \acute{i} h \acute{a} ·t}	'to accomplish'
{l \acute{e} h}	'to club'
{c \acute{i} p}	'to be straight'
{m \acute{a} n}	'to germinate'

{supéók} 'to tiptoe'

{veók} 'to grunt'

A very few bivalent roots occur as both noun and verb stems. All have the shape CVC.

E.g.

{lúl} 'smoke, to smoke'

{ĩé·n} 'foot, to go'

Note the following pairs of stems. (Cited phonemically)

non-agentive intransitive	agentive transitive	gloss
caví·	cuví·	'to rotate, circle'
falál	filál	'to break'
kayín	kiyín	'to shake'
lavés	luvés	'to be bruised; bruise'
la'óh	li'óh	'to break'
paréh	piréh	'to crumble'
patéñ	pitéñ	'to sting, smart'
sarák	sirák	'to slide'
talú·k	tilú·k	'to overlap'

These stems are representative of a large class of stems having paired non-agentive / agentive forms, the non-agentive forms having /a/ as the first vowel, the agentive forms having /i/ or, before a labial, /u/ (recall that //i//→/u/ before a labial). Patterning with the above pairs in a few instances is the tonic syllable

occurring in isolation, suggesting segmentation of these forms into a CVC root plus a paired set of Ca/non-agentive - Ci/agentive prefixes.

E.g. compare /ʔóh/ 'be broken' to /laʔóh, liʔóh/ 'to break' (non-agentive, agentive respectively).

While segmentation of many or all of these forms may well be correct from a historical viewpoint, synchronically it leaves one with a plethora of uniquely occurring morphemes. An additional complication is the fact that a few roots occur with several "prefixes", requiring that each prefix be assigned a different meaning. It has not been possible to ascertain consistent meanings for the various prefix pairs, neither where they contrast with other prefixes or with zero, nor when all of the CVCVC stems having the same initial consonant are examined for a common semantic component.

The solution adopted here has been to segment only those forms where the initial consonant contrasts - either with another C or \emptyset , this is described under "primary stem derivation". The remainder of the forms are considered to be monomorphemic transitive roots having the shape CiCVC, the /a/ of the non-agentive form being identified with the non-agentive {a} of //arís// 'to spill' (cf rís 'pour' Vt.) etc.

E.g.

{-a- liʔóh} → //liaʔóh// - /laʔóh/ 'to break
(non-agentive)'

{-a- sirák} → //siarák// → /sarák/ 'to slide (non-agentive)'

Roots which have allomorphy.

A. Morphemes having allomorphs that are mutually exclusive.

{ke·ʔ} : ké·ʔ ∞ ké·ʔ 'to take' (possibly

ké·eñ - before vowels, e.g. ké·eñe

ké·eñén)

ké·ʔ occurs with {-ah-} 'nominal', i.e.

/kahé·ʔ/ 'what is taken'

ké·ʔ occurs elsewhere, e.g. /ké·ʔe/

'be caught'

Parallel statements pertain to {vó·k} 'to bathe' and {vú·y} 'to be feverish'.

{vó·k} : vó·k ∞ ʔó·k 'to bathe'

{vú·y} : vú·y ∞ ʔú·y 'to be feverish'

ʔó·k and ʔú·y occur with {-an-} 'instru-

ment', i.e. /ʔanó·k/ 'bath water',

/ʔanú·y/ 'fever'

vó·k and vú·y occur elsewhere, e.g.

/vamó·k/ 'bather', /vó·k/ 'to bathe',

/vú·y/ 'to be feverish'

{pahé·ʔ} : pahé·ʔ - pá·ʔe 'to fear'

pahé·ʔ occurs before a vowel, e.g.

/pinhé·ʔã/ 'the frightening',

/pahé·ʔekú·ʔ/ 'be afraid'

pá'ε occurs elsewhere, e.g.

/təpá'əkú·'/?/ 'one who is afraid'

{ñé·t} : ñé·t ∞ yé·t 'to be decorated'

yé·t occurs with {-an-} 'gerund',

i.e. /yané·tə/ 'jewels'

ñé·t occurs elsewhere, e.g. /hañé·t/

'to decorate', /'inné·tə/ 'the

decorating'

{lík} : lík ∞ lék 'to go through, by way of'

lék occurs with {ta} 'nominal', i.e.

/talé·kə/ 'road'

lík occurs elsewhere, e.g. /lí·kə/ 'be

gone by way of', /líkñə/ 'embark at,

leave from'

B. Allomorphs completely overlapping in distribution.

1. Vowel length alternation.

{lán} : lán $\overset{f}{=}$ lá·n 'to kill (python is agent)'

2. Vowel nasalization alternation.

{tá·p} : tá·p $\overset{f}{=}$ tǎ·p 'to be flush, even with'

{pá·p} : pá·p $\overset{f}{=}$ pǎ·p 'to deflate (tr.)'

3. Vowel quality alternation.

{lafáy} : lafáy $\overset{f}{=}$ lafáy 'to have a flapshaped cut'

{piré·y} : piré·y $\overset{f}{=}$ pirúy 'to mix up, dissolve'

4. Consonant alternation.

{sé·n} : sé·n $\overset{f}{=}$ sé·t 'to be very good, very nice'

{kiří·p} : kiří·p $\overset{f}{=}$ tiří·p 'to wrestle'

{talís} : talís $\overset{f}{=}$ takís 'to glide, slip'

911.2. Compound stems

Compound stems consist of two roots. There are few such stems; the following types occur.

- a. Stems in which the first element is a verb root and the second is a noun root.

/tílró·?/ 'to order, request'; {tíl} 'to choose',

{ró·?} 'voice, word'

/sápró·?/ 'to answer' ; {sáp} 'to stab',

{ró·?} 'voice, word'

/ví·?tít/ 'to mend' ; {ví·?} 'to make',

{tít} 'end'

- b. Stems in which the first element is an adverbial particle and the second is a verb root. Only one such stem has been identified, i.e.

/héngh/ 'to remain' ; {hén} 'only, just',

{ghén} 'to remain, stay'

- c. A stem in which the first element is a noun and the second is unidentified, i.e.

/ñántó·?/ 'to play'; {ñán} 'plaything', { *tó·? }?

911.3. Primary stem derivatives

Primary stem derivation is an innermost layer of derivation; it involves a root plus a derivational prefix of unique or limited occurrence. Such forms are all of a single phonological type: a CV prefix and a CVC root. The following examples are illustrative.

a. Examples involving a verb root.

{ná·c} 'be finished; already' /caṅá·c/ 'to
clear up, disappear' ca- (?)

{tá·n} 'to press with palm of hand' /katá·n/
'to iron, press' ka- (?)

{tíl} 'to choose' /katíl/ 'to distribute'
ka- (perhaps connected with {kə} '(dis-
tributive)')

Note the following sets.

{lín} 'be rolled (as by waves on a beach)'

/pilín/ 'to roll (Vt)' pi- (?)

/milín/ 'to round (Vt)' mi- (?)

/tilín/ 'be rolled out, ground (Vt)' ti- (?)

{rít} 'be tense, taut'

/kirít/ 'to twitch, pulsate (Vt)' ki- (?)

/mirít/ 'to release something taut (Vt)'

mi- (?)

/tirít/ 'to bounce (Vt)' ti- (?)

See p.155 for a discussion of this problem.

b. Examples involving a noun root.

/kavók/ 'to hook' ka- {vók} 'fish hook'

/kiré·n/ 'to go afoot' ki- {ré·n} 'foot'

/haróh/ 'to sleep' ha- {róh} 'a night and a
day'

c. Examples involving a directional.

Compare the following set of verbs to the corresponding directional verb suffix.

/kulí·ŋ/ 'to go to the left as you face the sea'

{l} 'up; to left facing sea'

/kuñí·ʔ/ 'to go out to the el panam; emerge from womb' {ñ} 'out'

/kuhé·t/ 'to enter; to go inland to the village from the head coastal village' {hət} 'in'

/kufí·ʔ/ 'to go to the right as you face the sea' {t} 'to right facing sea; toward; down'

These forms are clearly segmentable, {ku-} being an intransitive verb deriving prefix, the stressed syllable consisting of the directional morphemes as indicated.

d. Example involving a numeral classifier.

/fatá·k/ 'to slap' fa- {tá·k} '(clf. with broad flat objects)'

912. Derived stems

Two stems are to be described, each having distinct distributions: the causative stem (CS), consisting of a simple stem plus {ha} 'causative', and the non-agentive stem (NA) consisting of a simple transitive stem plus {a₁} 'non-agentive'. These morphemes differ from those described under primary stem derivation in that they are clearly identifiable as morphemes and are evidenced in a large number of examples.

Complementary classes of stems occur with {ha} and {a₁} in the data; this is not surprising due to the limited distribution of {a₁} and the fact that it occurs exclusively with transitive stems, while {ha} occurs primarily with intransitive roots. (Transitive and intransitive stems are defined in section 930 .) This complementation is probably a trivial fact.

911.1 Causative stem: {ha} + S

The causative stem consists of a simple stem plus {ha} 'causative'. {ha} has allomorphs as follows:

(-m- → mi- ∞ mə-) - (? ∞ ha-)

-m- → mi- ∞ mə- occur with CVCVC stems

mi- ∞ mə- occur with stems beginning with a laryngeal; it is necessary to list the stems with which they occur. The following lists are thought to be complete for the corpus.

Stems occurring with mi-

harívló·n	'be sorrowful'
huríŋ	'be black'
?akáh	'to know'
?aŋú·?	'be bitter'
?uréh	'be startled'

SR: HV → Ø /mi__

E.g.

mi + huríŋ- → //miríŋ-// 'make black'

mi + ?aŋú·? → //miŋú·?// 'make bitter'

Stems occurring with mə-

ʔisóh	'be white'
ʔufóv	'be cold'
ʔulóhtén	'know intimately'

E.g.

//meʔisóh// → /miʔisóh/ 'to whiten'

//meʔufóv// → /muʔufóv/ 'to make cold'

-m- occurs with other CVCVC stems, e.g.

/sumrónkú.ʔ/ 'shame', //siřónkú.ʔ// 'be ashamed'

ʔ- ∞ ha- occur elsewhere

ʔ- occurs with {an} 'instrument' and {in} 'gerund',

e.g.

/ʔinkín/ 'a float' (//hakín// 'to float')

/ʔincá.pə/ 'piling' (//hacáp// 'to pile')

ha- occurs elsewhere, e.g.

/hará.c/ 'to heat', {rá.c} 'be hot'.

{ha} occurs with a very large number of stems, most of which are from the intransitive subclass of verbs and have the shape CVC; however it does occur with some noun and transitive verb stems and with a few stems of the shape CVCVC. With transitive verb stems {ha} has double causative force, i.e. it means to 'cause something to be done'. The following list of stems which occur with {ha} is exemplary but by no means complete.

Stems which occur with {ha} (Cited morphemically)

1. Transitive stems

fál 'run' nã.ʔ 'eat'

kilón	'to cage'	rát	'slice crosswise'
ló·t	'bend a wire'	tá·y	'catch'
mák	'see'		

2. Intransitive stems

cíp	'be straight'	ró·l	'be lying down'
hók	'be cooked'	rón	'accompany'
kiřón	'be big'	říl	'roll'
lé·n	'be thin'	řít	'tighten'
líy	'shake'	sáh	'be black'
rá·c	'be hot'	siřónkú·?	'be ashamed'
rák	'be level'	sí·p	'grow'
réy	'be weary'	táñ	'be angry'

3. Noun stems

kupáh	'corpse'	(caus.: 'to make dead')
múm	'dirt'	(caus.: 'to make dirty')
yá·c	'poor'	(caus.: 'to humble')

Examples:

//hanák//	'to show'
//kimlón// → /kumlón/	'to cause to be caged'
//hasáh// → /ʔasáh/	'to blacken'
//hacíp//	'to straighten'
//hayá·c//	'to humble'
//hañá·?//	'to feed'
//kimřón// → /kumřón/	'to make big'

911.2 Non-agentive stem: {a₁} + S

The non-agentive stem consists of a simple stem plus {a₁} 'non-agentive'.

{a₁} occurs with a subclass of transitive stems, most of which have the shape CiCVC; however it does occur also with a few stems having the shape CVC. The following is a partial list of stems which may occur with {a₁} (Cited morphemically):

fók	'split'	pilín	'roll'
kirúp	'smash'	piré·y	'dissolve'
kité·l	'swing'	réh	'unstraddle'
lí·c	'peel off'	rís	'pour'
likík	'break'	sí·c	'rub vigorously'
li'óh	'break'	tihús	'perfume, scent'

Examples:

//la'óh//	'be broken'
//afók// → /'afók/	'be split'
//alí·c// → /'alí·c/	'be peeled'
//karúp//	'be smashed'

920. The Deictic verb

{hu} and {han} are two infrequently occurring verbal prefixes which emphasize the nature of the action of the verb. The data allow only brief mention of these prefixes, which are distributed with all three stem classes.

Deictic verb: $\left. \begin{array}{l} \{han\} \\ \{hu\} \end{array} \right\}^+ S_{1,2,3}$

E.g.

//nutufít// 'by slinging' //hantanfíte// 'by
slinging'

//husir̄ó·lə// 'by butting' //hansinr̄ó·lə// 'by
butting'

//hur̄l// 'by crawling' //hanfóh// 'by kicking'

CVCVC stems with {han} always have an //n// infix; this seems to be a euphonic segment of a reduplicative nature; it is not thought to be of grammatical significance. Some of the stems are extended by a schwa suffix, which remains unanalyzed. This may be the same problem as the schwa augment mentioned in the noun section. The available texts have insufficient examples to pursue the problem of schwa. No other suffixes may occur with Deictic verbs.

There are apparently limitations on the distribution of these prefixes; separate listings, which cannot be made from the available data, are required for all verbs.

E.g.

//hukafítə ap.// 'He did it by flicking.' (By-flicking he.)

//hankanlĩ·cə ək, nə ké·ʔə ε.// 'By putting his arm through he took it.' (By-[putting arm through] he, he take it.)

//hansó·ŋ an, nə sút ŋam ñám.// 'By kicking he played the ball.' (By-kicking he, he play the ball.)

//hulířá·kə cin.// 'I did it by splitting it.' (By-splitting I)

With respect to the inflectional derivational dichotomy, the Deictic verb seems to be intermediate. Stem derivation is nearly all prefixual in Nicobarese, while inflection is suffixual. The Deictic verb shares some properties of both types; it seems best to simply not try to categorize it in these terms.

930. Introduction to Verb Inflection

Verbs occur as stems in thirteen major inflectional constructions, each of which consists of a stem and one to three suffixes. Five of the constructions consist of a stem plus a single suffix, indicating deleterious effect, continuation of action, action sequence, negative absolute, and attribution, i.e., that the verb bears an attributive relationship to a following noun. The other seven constructions describe paradigms which are inflected for direction/aspect and which differ with respect to voice: reflexive, passive, possessive, stative, two intransitive and two active paradigms complete the set. The two intransitive paradigms consist of one of transitive stems, which have an incorporated object, and one of intransitive stems. The two active paradigms are not marked for active; they indicate respectively personal and non-personal referent of the verb, the referent being a direct object with transitive verbs; an indirect object with intransitive verbs.

There are two small classes of suffixes which may attach to fully inflected verbs. They are termed post-inflectional suffixes. One class consists of a single morpheme which requires the statement of special constructions; the other is a class of nouns whose structural relationship to the verbs is fully described by the regular tactic constructions.

Finally, the verb presentation closes with a discussion of a residual set of suffixes of infrequent or highly restricted distribution.

The constructional paradigms (Table IV) define three classes of stems: S_1 , S_2 , and S_3 . Class 1 stems comprise derived causative stems and a class of simple transitive stems; as a whole this class is referred to as V_t or S_1 . Class 2 stems comprise derived non-agentive stems. The class is referred to as V_{na} or S_2 . Class 3 stems are all simple intransitive stems referred to as V_i or S_3 . A very few stems belong to more than one class.

Stems vary as to degree of freedom with respect to the suffixes; some stems occur freely in all constructions permissible to their stem class; at the other end of the scale some stems always occur with a single suffix configuration. In between these extremes are stems with varying combinatory possibilities - stems "frozen" at various points in the derivational process or having limited substitutional possibilities. In the last analysis, separate statements must be made for nearly every stem.

In the course of limited field work it was not possible to investigate individual stem suffixation as fully as one would like or as fully as is required for definitive analysis of the verb system. The description presented here is necessarily broad and subject to refinement.

Several of the constructions are diagnostic for stem class; in the absence of complete paradigms for

Constructions	Stem Types		
	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3
	Transitive stems	Non-agentive stems	Intransitive stems
Personal referent	X		(X)
Non-personal referent	X		(X)
Passive	X	X	
Reflexive passive	X	X	X
Possessive	X		
Intransitive locative			X
Incorporated object	X		
Stative	(X)	X	X
Continuative	X	X	X
Attributive	(X)	X	X
Sequential	X	X	X

Note: (X) indicates that the occurrence of the stem type is very limited in the construction.

Table IV: Verb Inflection: Distribution of the stems in the constructions.

all stems, occurrence in any one of the constructions specific to a particular stem type is taken as evidence for classification of the stem. An additional criterion for stem classification was alluded to in connection with noun derivation, namely distribution and allomorphy of the gerund, {-in-}. Non-agentive stems do not occur with the gerund, while intransitive and transitive stems take different allomorphs. A further stem classing criterion is the adjective prefix, which occurs only with intransitive stems.

931. Thematic stem (TS)

The thematic stem (TS) consists of a stem plus one of the thematic suffixes. The thematic suffixes are a set of seven suffixes expressing direction or aspect, i.e. {h}, {het}, {k}, {l}, {ñ}, {ŋ}, {t}.

Stems of classes 2 and 3 do not occur with {k}.

Thus the statement of the thematic stem is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} TS_1 &\rightarrow S_1 + \text{thematic suffix} \\ TS_2 &\rightarrow S_2 + \text{thematic suffix}^{-\{k\}} \\ TS_3 &\rightarrow S_3 + \text{thematic suffix}^{-\{k\}} \end{aligned}$$

Examples:

TS₁: //léhk-// 'hit purposelessly' //hañ¹ll-// 'roll up'
 TS₂: //parú·yl-// 'become murky' //lañákñ-// 'be split'
 TS₃: //sí·pt-// 'grow down' //lí·nh-// 'be angry'

Details of the thematic suffixes are as follows:

{k}, 'imperfective'

{k} indicates that the action is only partially accomplished, is only half-heartedly or not seriously done, is only touched upon, or is done unintentionally. It occurs only with S₁.

E.g.

//lí·rkə// → /lí·kə/ 'to cut a little'

//kité·lka// 'to be swung back and forth (for no reason)'

//fĩŋkə̃ε cin.// 'I burn myself accidentally.'

{h} 'reciprocal action'

The meaning of {h} is quite obscure. It is usually the thematic suffix employed when the object of a verb is {há·} 'each other'. In most transitive uses and in the Reflexive passive verb it appears to mean 'a plural subject acts with respect to each other', e.g.

//lí·nhén há· an, ay có·n.// 'John and I are angry with each other.'

//kaĩĩphén há· nun miné· lí·pə̃ε.// 'These books are pressed together. (lit. press each other together.)'

//hamú·lhə̃ε yin, nə tikĩkró·ʔ̃ε.// 'They are singing a song gathered together.'

{h} with the passive {ə₅} occurs with a number of verbs; its meaning is not clear, e.g.

//háŋhurén cin, té ɔ.// 'I'm loved by him.'
(há·ŋén 'to love')

//cík^hkhukú·? an ɲam sakú·.// 'The knife pains.'

(cík 'to hurt' (V_i))

//haréyhu ən ɲam máy.// 'The sea is saline.'

In the latter two examples the verb indicates that the subject is emitting the quality which is expressed by the verb - as opposed to being affected by it. This may be ascribable to {h}; it is not clear.

{het} 'inward, toward the interior of the island'

hé·t ∞ hét - het

hé·t occurs with {ku} '(intransitive verb deriving prefix)' i.e.

//kuhé·t// 'to enter, go into'

hét - het occur elsewhere

hét occurs non-finally

het occurs elsewhere

E.g.

//sí·phétrɛ// 'to be growing into'

//hahó·rhétvɛ// → /haʔó·hétvɛ/ 'to be driven in'

//silóthet// 'to prepare a food parcel and take it inland'

//ʔasé·rhet// → /ʔasé·het/ 'to pour into'

Two observations of interest pertain to the differing phonological shape of {het} as compared with the other thematic suffixes. The first is that, unlike the other thematic suffixes, {het} has a stressed allomorph which occurs as a verbal suffix. The usual pattern in the

language is for CVC syllables to have stress if they follow a stressed root; the //hát// allomorph is doubtless a reflection of that pattern. The second observation is that {hət} occurs with Ø allomorphs of {ə₃} 'personal referent', {ə₄} 'non-personal referent', {i} 'intransitive stem closing suffix' and {ə₆} 'reflexive stem extending suffix', suffixes which immediately follow the thematic suffixes in four of the verb constructions. These Ø allomorphs are doubtless related to the relatively longer phonological shape of {hət} as compared with the other thematic suffixes.

{l, t, ñ, ŋ} form a distributional subclass of the thematic suffixes; they will be called 'directional suffixes' (D).

{l} 'upward; to the left when facing the sea; to increase in size or number (with řε)'

l ∞ l^íŋ

l^íŋ occurs with {ku-} '(intransitive verb deriving prefix)', i.e.

//kul^íŋ// 'go to the left as you face the sea.'

l occurs elsewhere, e.g.

//sí·plə// 'grow up'

//liřáklə// 'split something' (involves upward motion)

//máñləřε// 'be growing up; be growing in size or number'

//haté·mlə// 'go to the left facing sea at night'

{t} 'toward; downward; to the right as one faces the sea'

t ∞ tí·? ∞ ta

ta occurs with quantifier stems after {qə} 'incorporated object', e.g.

//lú·yqəta// 'do three (things) toward, down'

//haróhtúmqəta// 'do some (things) toward, down'

tí·? occurs with {ku-} 'intransitive verb deriving prefix', i.e.

//kutí·?// 'go to the right facing sea'

t occurs elsewhere, e.g.

//téh̄təř̄ε// 'float toward (etc., reflexive)'

//hak̄ipt̄ən// 'teach (someone)'

//s̄ilti// 'come down'

{ñ} 'outward; toward the seashore'

ñ ∞ ñí·?

ñí·? occurs with {ku-} '(intransitive verb deriving prefix)', i.e.

//kuñí·?// 'to go out to the el panam (head village at the seashore)'

ñ occurs elsewhere, e.g.

//m̄áññəř̄ε// 'to be growing out'

//k̄ih̄átñén// 'to put (someone) out'

//paréh̄kəñi// 'to be accidentally broken out'
(non-agentive)

//siřólñe// 'to butt (something) out'

//cípñi cin, kuñí·?// 'I'm going straight
to the seashore.'

{ŋ} 'perfective'

{ŋ} indicates one of the following:

1. action is completed
2. the goal of the action of the verb is done away with - perhaps left behind, destroyed, or removed.
3. the action of the verb is directed inland to the jungle.

E.g.

/káhítŋe nã?ãñe cin./ 'I finished my dinner.'

/lařá·kiye an ŋam pakcó·n./ 'The branch has accidentally
split away'.

/cípŋe cin, carú·y./ 'I'm going straight to the jungle.'

ŋ ∞ ŋa ∞ ie ~ i ~ ei

ie - i - ei occur with {ə₅} 'passive'

ie occurs after a laryngeal when {ə₅} is non-final, e.g.

//nacú?ierén// → /nacú?uyrén/ 'be cheated'

//?amánierén// → /?amáhayrén/ 'do accidentally'

ei - i occurs after a laryngeal when {ə₅} is final, e.g.

//fóheie// → /fóhoye ^f fóhoy/ 'be beaten'

//fóhiie// → /fóhiye/ 'be beaten'

//hó·?eiie// → /hó·?oye ^f hó?oy/ 'be reeled in'

i occurs elsewhere, e.g.

//halínirén// → /halí·nirén/ 'be deposited'

//kuntú·yirén// 'be deceived'

//nátie f̄ nāti// → /ná·tiyè f̄ ná·ti/ 'be bound'

//fúnjie f̄ fúnji// → /fú·niyè f̄ fú·ni/ 'be split'

na occurs word finally with {qə} 'incorporated object', e.g.

//lú·yqəna// → /lú·yhaŋa/ 'do three (things) up'

//fé·lqəna// → /fé·lhaŋa/ 'to have killed (someone)'

ŋ occurs elsewhere, e.g.

//sikéhŋə// 'hot season'

//lañákŋəñɛ// 'be cracked'

//fé·lŋén// 'to kill someone'

//nací·ʔŋə// 'to shorten'

//kitú·yqaŋén// → /kitú·yhaŋén/ 'to deceive someone'

932. The Personal referent verb consists of a stem of class 1, with or without a thematic suffix, plus {ə₃} 'personal referent'. A few class 3 stems with the thematic suffix {h} 'reciprocal action' have also been found with {ə₃}.

Personal referent:
$$\left. \begin{array}{l} TS_2 \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\} + \{ə_3\}$$

$$S_3 + \{h\} + \{ə_3\}$$

{ə₃} 'personal referent' occurs only in this single construction; it has the following allomorphy:

ə ∞ éñ ∞ ∅

∅ occurs with {hət} 'inward, to the interior', e.g.

//híkhet// 'wait for (someone) to enter'

//ñáthət// 'tie (someone) inside'

éñ occurs elsewhere with thematic stems, e.g.

//tá·nɣén// 'to push (someone)'

//léhlén// 'to hit (someone) up'

ə occurs elsewhere, e.g.

//léhə// → /léhə/ 'hit (something)'

//ñé·kə// 'tie (something)'

A special phonological rule pertains to personal referent non-thematic stems followed by {ɔ} '3rd person pronoun', i.e.

SR: {ə₃} + {ɔ} → //-án//

that is, the //ə// of the personal referent ending plus the //ɔ// of the 3rd person pronoun result in the portmanteau verb suffix án, e.g.

{félé + ɔ} → //félán// 'kill him'

The Personal referent indicates that the verb has an object and that it is personal, i.e., a personal name, a personal pronoun, or {hé·} 'each other.' The object of stems of class 1 is direct; with class 3 stems it is indirect.

Examples:

with S₁

//ñé·ktén ɔ cin, ?ín có·n.// 'I tie him to John.'

(Tie him I, to John.)

//tí·nḡén tət·mák an, cé·ms.// 'James sent Tətmak

away.' (Sent-away Tətmak he James.)

//f'é·lə có·n man!// 'Kill John!' (Kill John you!)

//má·kə ca cin.// 'I see them.' (See them I.)

with S₃

//yá·hhén ih an.// 'He came to us.' (Came us he.)

//lín·hén hé· an, ay có·n.// 'John and I are angry

with each other.' (Angry each other we, I-and

John.)

There are some instances of the Personal referent verb occurring with the non-personal pronouns {ε} 'it' and {u} 'them', and with {hé·} 'each other' when its reference is non-personal. In several examples the Personal referent verb clearly may be replaced by a Non-personal referent verb. It appears that this is an area in which the language is changing - from the occurrence of the Personal referent verb exclusively with personal pronouns, names, and {hé·} 'each other' when its reference is personal to its additional occurrence with any pronoun and {hé·}, regardless of reference.

933. The Non-personal referent verb consists of a thematic stem of class 1, plus {ε₄} 'Non-personal referent'. As with the Personal referent verb a few class

3 stems with the thematic suffix {h} 'reciprocal action' have been found with {ə₄}.

Non-personal referent: TS₁ + {ə₄}

S₃ + {h} + {ə₄}

{ə₄} 'non-personal referent, occurs only in this construction. It has the following allomorphy:

e ∞ ∅

∅ occurs with {het} 'inward, to the interior', e.g.

//li'óhhət// 'break (something) in'

//cá·thət// 'move (something) in'

e occurs elsewhere, e.g.

//hókŋə// 'to bail (something) out (away)'

//piréhkə// 'to crumble (something, incompletely)'

The Non-personal referent verb indicates that the action of the verb relates to an object that is non-personal; the object may or may not be expressed. With stems of class 1 the object is direct; with class 3 stems it is indirect. Class 3 stems are very infrequent in this construction.

Non-thematic stems are unsuffixed with non-personal objects; thus an unsuffixed stem serves as a non-personal referent verb in the tactic statements.

Examples:

with S₁

//fálhət lí·pəře cin, əl patí·?// 'I ran the book into the house.' (Run-in book I, in house.)

//hakĩpnə ε man, elló·nřε.// 'Learn it by heart.'

(Learn it you, in-mind-your.)

//fóhñə misó·kə cin.// 'I hit the mosquito out.'

(Hit-out mosquito I.)

//sé·t cin.// 'I stab.' (Stab I.)

c.f. //fók mák cin.// 'I bale water.' (Bale water I.)

with S_3

//řáñhə patí·? cu ən ñam có·n.// 'The tree is near
my house.' (Near house-my it the tree.)

934. Two constructional statements are required to present the Passive: one for stems of class 1 and a second for class 2 stems.

The Passive of class 1 stems consists of a stem, with or without a thematic suffix, plus the passive morpheme {ə₅}.

Passive (S_1): $\left. \begin{array}{l} TS_1 \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\} + \{ə_5\}$

The Passive of class 2 stems consists of a stem plus a directional suffix or {hət} 'inward' plus {ə₅} 'passive'. When the directional suffix is {t} 'toward', 'down' or {ñ} 'out' the stem is extended by the suffix {kə}.

Passive (S_2): $S_2 + \left[\begin{array}{l} \{kə\} + \left[\begin{array}{l} \{t\} \\ \{ñ\} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} \{η\} \\ \{l\} \\ \{hət\} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] + \{ə_5\}$

{kə} 'intransitive stem extending suffix', occurs only in this construction, e.g.

//latókkəti// 'be broken down'

//sařólkəni// 'be butted away'

{ə₅} 'passive', occurs only in the Passive verb and has allomorphy as follows:

ə ∞ a ∞ ∅ ∞ əŋə ∞ və ∞ u - u(ə)

∅ ^f occurs finally with {ŋ} 'perfective', e.g.

//ŋátie ^f ŋáti// → /ŋá·tiyə ^f /ŋá·ti/ 'be bound'

//fúŋie ^f fúŋi// → /fú·ŋiyə ^f fú·ŋi/ 'be split'

∅ occurs non-finally with {ŋ} 'perfective', e.g.

//palá·?ierén// → /palá·ayrén/ 'be injured'

//hacátirén// → /hacá·tirén/ 'be lost'

a occurs with {k} 'imperfective', e.g.

//hayílka// 'be partially swollen'

//só·nka// 'be partially bent'

əŋə occurs with {l} 'upward', e.g.

//fíŋləŋə// 'be burned'

//ha·?ähləŋə// 'be served'

vé occurs with {hət} 'inward', e.g.

//la·?óhhétvé// 'be broken into something'

//paréhhétvé// 'be crumbled into something'

u - u(ə) occur with {t} 'toward, downward', and {ñ} 'outward'

u(ə) occurs word finally, e.g.

//hahó·rñue// → /ha·?ó·ñuve/ 'be expelled'

//hahó·rñu// → /ha·?ó·ñu/ 'be expelled'

u occurs elsewhere, e.g.

//hakihturén// 'be punished'

//lípnukú·?// 'be open'

ə occurs elsewhere, e.g.

//léhə// → /léhɛ/ 'be hit'

//ñé·kə// 'be tied'

//hatínə// → /hatí·nə/ 'be asked'

With stems of class 1 the Passive verb indicates that the grammatical subject is the object of the action of the verb.

E.g.

//mákka ən ŋih lí·peřɛ, tɛ cé·n.// 'This book is looked after by Jane.' (Look-imperfective-passive it this book, by Jane.)

//ha·?áhləŋə cá·?a, tɛ yik hólřɛ.// 'They were served by their friends.' (Feed-passive they, by those friend-theirs.)

//tí·niye yik maríñlə, nə ñók có·n, ək panó·?ə ca.// 'The (pl) elders were sent, to pull weeds of the garden.' (Send-perfective-passive those elders, they pull weeds, it-was garden their.)

//ñé·kə cin, tɛ ñané·k.// 'I'm bound by the cord.' (Bind-passive I, by cord.)

With class 2 stems the Passive verb indicates that the condition stated by the verb pertains to the subject and has been caused.

E.g.

//caví·ləŋə əl kúy cin.// 'I'm giddy.' (Circle-up in head I.)

//lařákketi an ŋam pakcó·n, tē kú·ʔ kufít.// 'The
branch is broken down, by the action of the wind.'
(Broken-passive-down it the branch, by face
wind.)

//lařúkkeñi nun miné· kú·ʔpú·l.// 'These flowers
are blossoming forth.' (Blossom-cut they these
flower.)

//laʔóhhétvə ək kú·ʔcók, nə i ʔaláha haʔún.// 'The
arrow point was broken in the pig's body.'
(Broken-in it-was point-arrow, it in body pig.)

There is one example of a class 2 stem without a
thematic suffix occurring with {ə₅}.

//lakúks tí·ʔ cin, tē pilín.// 'I broke a bottle.'
(Break hand I, of bottle.)

There is one example of a stem from class 3 occurring
as a stem in the S₂ Passive verb construction, i.e.

//ró·lkəti ró·ʔ cin, vé·ʔŋənán.// 'I frequently
gossip.' (Many-toward word I, gossip.)

935. The Reflexive-passive verb consists of a thematic
stem of any class or of a non-thematic stem of class 1,
extended by {ə₆} 'reflexive stem extending suffix',
plus {řə} 'reflexive'.

Reflexive passive:
$$\left. \begin{array}{l} TS_{1,2,3} \\ S_1 \end{array} \right\} + \{ə_6\} + \{řə\}$$

{ə₆} 'reflexive stem extending suffix' occurs only
in this construction.

E.g.

- TS₁: //fáln̄eṛε// 'to run away'
 //samé·tl̄eṛε// 'be one who stabs oneself up'
- TS₂: //parú·yl̄eṛε// 'become murky'
 //tafíthét̄eṛε// 'to spring in'
- TS₃: //máññeṛε// 'be growing out'
 //cípleṛε// 'to straighten up'
- S₁: //hamú·leṛε// 'to gather (selves) together'
 //léheṛε// 'to hit oneself'

The reflexive {ṛε} also occurs with nouns and is described under common noun suffixation.

The Reflexive-passive verb simply indicates that an action occurs; the agent and the goal are both incidental. Where indication of the agent is given the implication is that it is essentially irrelevant and probably is accidentally involved. Where the Reflexive passive verb occurs simply in a Verb + Subject clause with no specification as to agent or goal, the sense of the construction is reflexive, e.g.

//kafíteṛε cin.// 'I brush myself off.'

(Brush-self I.)

//mú·lhc̄eṛε yin, n̄e ñá·?// 'They eat together.' (Together-each other-self they eat.)

//hafíyeṛε cin, el kufít.// 'I'm shaking in the wind.' (Cause-shake-self I, in wind.)

If an agent is specified it is in a phrase which is satellite to the clause nucleus; the clause subject is the goal of the action, e.g.

//cítlɛ̃ɛ an ɲam kasón, tɛ tí·ʔ cu.// 'The box
is lifted up by me.' (Lift-up-self it the
box, by hand my.)

//laɲákɛ̃ɛ an ɲam pakó·n, tɛ kú·ʔ kufít.//
'The branch is broken by the wind.' (Break-
up-self it the branch, by face wind.)

The Reflexive passive of $S_2 + S_3$ verbs indicates increment of action unless an agent is expressed, e.g.

//cí·ʔtɛ̃ɛ cú·k ən ɲam rón có·n.// 'The fruit
is lowering its place.' (Short-down-self
place it the fruit.)

//parú·ylɛ̃ɛ an ɲam máy.// 'The sea is getting
murky.' (Cloud-up-self it the sea.)

The suffix configurations tɛ̃ɛ and lɛ̃ɛ are also found with numerators, where they are incremental in meaning; they are described under numerator inflection.

936. The Intransitive locative verb consists of a stem of class 3 suffixed with a directional (D) or {hət} 'inward', and with {i} 'intransitive stem closing suffix'.

Intransitive locative: $S_3 + \left[\begin{array}{c} \{hət\} \\ \text{D} \end{array} \right] + \{i\}$

{i} 'intransitive stem closing suffix' occurs both in this construction and in the incorporated object verb.

It has the following allomorphs:

{i} 'intransitive stem closing suffix'

i e ∅

∅ occurs with {ŋ} 'perfective' when it follows {qə} 'incorporated goal', and with {hət} 'inward, to the interior', e.g.

//fé·lqəŋa// → //fé·lhəŋa// 'to have killed (someone)'

//hé·mhət// 'flow in'

//tíŋhət// 'to reach in (i.e. arrive inland)'

i $\overset{f}{-}$ e occurs non-finally with {t} 'toward, down' e.g.

//s $\overset{f}{-}$ iltikú·? $\overset{f}{-}$ s $\overset{f}{-}$ iltəkú·?// 'to arrive at a place'

//kó·?tikú·? $\overset{f}{-}$ kó·?tekú·?// 'to find'

i occurs elsewhere with {t} 'toward, down', and with {ñ} 'out', e.g.

//t $\overset{f}{-}$ hti// 'float toward'

//s $\overset{f}{-}$ lti// 'arrive (down to)'

- //sí·pñi// 'grow out'
 //ḡátqəñi// → /ḡáthəñi/ 'to tie something out'
 ə occurs elsewhere, e.g.
 //lókqəle// → /lókħəle/ 'to stab (someone) up'
 //máñle// 'to sprout up'
 //cípḡə// 'to go straight away (i.e. in a
 straight direction)'

The Intransitive locative verb indicates the direction in which an intransitive action occurs.

E.g.

- //téhti an ḡam ká·ʔ, nə ʔin cu.// 'The fish is floating to me.' (Float-toward it the fish, it to me.)
 //hé·lhet an ḡam təhé·l.// 'The river is flowing in (i.e., backwashing).' (Stream-in it the river.)
 //féhlə an ḡam sá·ñ.// 'The rice is swelling up.'
 (Swell-up it the rice.)

937. The Incorporated object verb consists of a stem of class 1 suffixed with {qə} 'incorporated object' followed by a directional suffix (D) and {i} 'intransitive stem closing suffix.'

Incorporated object: $S_1 + \{qə\} + D + \{i\}$

{qə} 'incorporated object' indicates that the action of the stem carries over to an unstated object. It also occurs with quantifier stems.

SR: ə → a / __Ca

E.g.

//riná·ʔqəŋa// → //riná·ʔqəŋa// 'divorce'

//pó·yqəta// → //pó·yqata// 'do many (things) to'

This paradigm expresses direction or aspect with respect to action relating to some unspecified object. The examples should help to clarify this meaning.

E.g.

//léhçələ cin, // → /léhhələ cin./ 'I hit (something) up'. (Hit-object-up I.)

//hahú·tçəŋa cin, // → /ʔahú·thaŋa cin./ 'I've caused the noosing (of something.)' (Cause-noose-object-[perfective] I.)

//hú·tçəŋa an, nə ŋác, // → /hú·thaŋa an, nə ŋác./ 'He already made a noose of it.' (Noose-object-[perfective] he, he already.)

938. The Possessive verb consists of a class 1 stem extended by a thematic suffix other than {h} 'reciprocal action' plus {uvə} 'possessive'.

Possessive: S₁ + $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{D} \\ \{het\} \\ \{k\} \end{array} \right]$ + {uvə}

{uvə} also occurs with nouns; it was described (along with its complicated allomorphy) under common noun derivation, e.g.

//hayúnŋuə// → /hayúnŋuvə/ 'have something to hide';

//hayúnŋə// 'to hide'

: //havé·kuə// → /havé·kuvə/ 'to have asked (for something)'; 'to have something to ask'

The Possessive verb is evidenced in only five examples of sentence length in the data. Forms with {t} 'toward, down' and {het} 'inward, to the interior' are not in fact evidenced; however, the generalized statement above, which includes all thematic suffixes other than {h} 'reciprocal action', is made on the basis of other distributions of these suffixes. {h} may well occur here also, but as its distributions are often at variance with the other thematic suffixes it is never presumed to occur where it is not evidenced.

On the basis of the five examples of the Possessive verb its meaning is construed as 'to have to do' or 'to have done'. All five examples are presented. The forms are given phonemically, i.e.

/ʔət kahúlluve ʔəm, tə nãʔãʔ/ 'Don't you have anything to cook?' (Not cook-up-have you, of food?)

/ʔət kahúlŋuve ʔəm, tə nãʔãʔ/ 'Don't you have any cooked food?' (Not cook-[perfective]-have you, of food?)

/lípñuvəkú·ʔ ʔan ŋam ʔinkú·p./ 'The door has been opened.' (Patch-out-possessive-[face] it the door.)

/hañá·lñuve nun miné· hilá·./ 'These clothes have been caused to dry.' (Cause-dry-out-possessive they these clothes.)

//parú·ya an ɲam mák, ɛl pá·lti.// 'The water in the bucket is murky.' (Murky-be it the water, in bucket.)

//ló·ra an ɲam pé·c.// 'The snake is in a crawling position.' ([Crawling position]-be it the snake.)

//hú·?a yin mé· ní·?.// 'The children are crying.' (Be-crying they these children.)

//mařó·?ta ɛn ɲih patí·? ɲih.// 'This house is long.' (Long-toward-be it this house this.)

//cí·?ta ɛn ɲih tahé·l.// 'This river is short.' (Short-toward it this river.)

940. The Continuative verb consists of a stem of any class plus {haka} 'continuative'

Continuative: $S_{1,2,3} + \{haka\}$

The Continuative expresses continuance of an action or condition that began at sometime in the past and extends to some future time. It occurs only when the condition is subject to change - it is not used of intrinsic characteristics. It is restricted semantically to occurring with verbs which can be continuative in meaning as opposed to verbs expressing a single event fixed at a moment in time - such as verbs expressing striking, arriving, ending, etc.

E.g.

//sík^hhaka an có·n, nɛ i sinkík^hɲɛ.// 'John is standing in the corner.' (Stand-continuous-he John, he in corner.)

//hañó·nhaka an ñam kanú·c, nə i ñam lí·pəñə.// 'The pencil is leaning against the book.' (Cause-slant-continuous it the pencil, it into the book.)

//sáhhaka an ñam ñó·t.// 'The octopus is in a black condition.' (Black-continuous it the octopus.)

//patóhhaka an ñam sampét.// 'The papaya is in a spotted condition.' (Spotted-continuous it the papaya.)

Compare

//patóh an ñam pĩ·kəñε.// 'The goat is spotted.' (Spotted it the goat.)

If this example had the {haka} suffix it would indicate a temporary condition rather than an intrinsic characteristic.

941. The Attributive verb consists of a stem of any class plus {ə₇} 'attributive'.

Attributive: S_{1,2,3} + {ə₇}

The Attributive indicates that the verb modifies a following noun; the relationship between the subject and verb phrase is one of possession.

E.g.

//lañáke kanú·c cin.// 'I have a split pencil.' (Be-split-[attributive] pencil I.)

//li'óho kalñé·n cin, tə có·n.// 'I have a broken leg by John's action.' (Break-[attributive] leg I, by John.)

//'uréhe 'aláha cin, tə linkúkñε ñam pilín.// 'I'm startled by the breaking of the bottle.' (Be astonished-[attributive] body I, by breaking the bottle.)

//[?]ufóve kunrē·n cin.// 'I have cold feet.' (Cold-
[attributive] feet I.)

942. The Sequential verb consists of a stem of any class plus {hē·} 'sequential'.

Sequential: S_{1,2,3} + {hē·}

{hē·} indicates that the action of the verb to which it is attached is completed before any subsequent action begins. The Sequential verb alone among the verb types does not require that its subject be stated.

E.g.

//tānhē· nē i hañó·c, ηac ?ilé· ha?ókē.// 'After arriving at Mus they were made to drink.'
(Arrive-after they at Mus, [and then] immediately [be made to drink].)

//caló·?hē· tē ek má·?, ηacmel əy lá?evrén.//
'When the chief came, then we worked.' (Arrive-after of the chief, then we work.)

//kihá·thé· káha əc vó·k, ηac havítkeřε.// 'Immediately after bathing I walked around.' (Finish-after body I bathe, and [walk around]-imperfective-self.)

There are two other suffixes of apparently general distribution with verb stems: {qara} 'negative absolute', and {qanén} 'deleterious effect'. They are excluded from the preceding presentation because

they occur in such infrequent examples that only tentative statements may be given.

{qara} 'negative absolute' is attested only with class 3 stems; however, this may well be an artifact of the limited data.

943. Negative absolute: $S_3 + \{qara\}$

{qara} indicates that the action or condition expressed by the verb does not occur at all. The verb is always negated by {ʔet} 'not'. Only two examples are found in the corpus, i.e.

//ʔet haróhqara cin.// → /ʔet haróhhara cin./ 'I didn't sleep at all.' (Not sleep-[at all] I.)

//ʔet ñamtó·ʔqara cin, vahé·r.// → /ʔet ñamtó·ʔara cin, vahé·./ 'I didn't play at all yesterday.' (Not play-[at all] I, yesterday.)

944. {qaqén} 'deleterious effect' is found only with stems of class 3. It indicates harmful or injurious results or condition.

Intensified effect: $S_3 + \{qaqén\}$

E.g.

//pó·yqaqén// → /pó·yhaqén/ 'badly injured; greatly damaged'

//mañó·ʔqaqén// → /mañó·ʔaqén/ 'do something for a long time (with injurious results).'

{qaqén} is attested in only a few examples; it might well have a broader distribution in a larger corpus.

Examples:

//kiřéŋqanén an, nə palá·ʔeirén.// 'He has a bad
injury.' (Big-injurious he, he is-injured.)

//pó·yqanén ʔanóhə ké·l an.// 'He has a very badly
broken arm.' (Great-injurious broken arm he.)

//mařó·ʔqanén an, nə kiřé·nqəřə.// 'He was gone a
long time.' (Long-injurious he, he gone.)

{qara} and {qanén} are excluded from tactic discussion
because of lack of data. In general they seem to have
the distribution of intransitive verbs (V_i).

950. Post-inflectional suffixation

The post-inflectional suffixes are suffixes which may occur attached to fully inflected stems. They fall into two classes: {rén} 'involuntary action', and a small class of nouns.

951. Stems with {rén} 'involuntary action'

{rén} occurs in immediate constituency with a number of verb stems as the terminal or semiterminal morpheme in the verb word. It is somewhat obscure in meaning. With intransitive and non-agentive stems it seems to indicate that the action expressed is not subject to voluntary control but is just the way things are. With causative stems this meaning is less clear but is probably still latently present.

{rén} has two allomorphs, as follows.

rén - én

én occurs after a consonant, e.g.

//táŋén// → /tá·ŋén/ 'to find'

//háŋén// → /há·ŋén/ 'to love'

rén occurs after a vowel, e.g.

//kumrá·tkarén// 'be hurried'

//hacátirén// → /hacá·tirén/ 'be lost'

{rén} is found with simple stems, thematic stems, and fully inflected passive verbs, as follows.

Simple stem	(V _i)	} + {rén}
Thematic stem	(V _{t,na,i})	
Passive verb	(V _{t,na})	

Most of the stem + TS sequences appear to be derived stems. With only a few stems does more than one thematic suffix occur.

The simple intransitive stems which occur suffixed with {rén} are a different set from the intransitive stems which occur with a thematic suffix plus {rén}. Examples of stems belonging to this class are given below. The asterisked forms may occur without {rén}. These stems are distributed like intransitive stems and are considered a subclass of S₃.

with TS:

{cátŋ-}	'be lost'	{kíht-}	'be in danger (toward)
{yé·ʔŋ-}	'be wasted'	{kíhŋ-}	'be in danger (away)'

without TS:

{táŋ-}	'find'	{háŋ-}	'be in love with'
{kó·ʔ-}	'be able'	{há·ʔ-}	'be late'

Transitive stems with {rén} all have bound thematic suffixes. The forms are active and function as Referential stems, occurring with either personal or non-personal referents; they are considered a subclass of S₁. Transitive stems occurring with {rén} in the data are the following.

V_t:

{hucátŋ-}	'to lose'	*{halíŋt-}	'to allow'
-----------	-----------	------------	------------

{hacú·ʔŋ-} 'to cheat' {hayé·ʔŋ-} 'to waste'
 {hakiht-} 'to trouble' {kaláhk-} 'to attempt'
 {halánk-} 'to cure' {kumřá·tk-} 'to hurry'
 *{halínŋ-}. 'store away' {pilá·ʔŋ-} 'to injure'

There are two non-agentive stems in the data which occur with {rén}; both have bound thematic suffixes.

They are considered a subclass of S₂.

I.e.

{ʔamáŋŋ-} 'do accidentally' {palá·ʔŋ-} 'be injured'

Thematic transitive and non-agentive stems with {rén} have corresponding passives. In no other instance does {rén} occur with passive verbs. {rén} was usually given by the informants as optional with these passive verbs. Passive suffixation of stems with {rén} is identical to that of thematic stems of class 1, i.e.

T₅ + {ə₅} + {rén}

E.g.

//halánkarén// 'be cured'

//hakihturén// 'be tortured'

//palá·ʔierén// 'be injured'

Reflexive forms of the V_t thematic stems + {rén} are formed by the addition of {řε} 'reflexive' to the stem, following {rén}, e.g.

//halánkénřε// 'cure oneself'

//halínřténřε// 'permit oneself'

952. Stems with suffixed nouns

In some instances of the regular tactic sequence.

VP + N' (sec. 3310) the juncture separating the verb and the noun is dropped; the noun occurs as a verb suffix. Diachronically, this appears to be a change which the language is undergoing at the present time. In some instances the composite form has a highly idiosyncratic meaning; in others the stem does not occur without the attached noun. The composite form appears to be a kind of secondarily derived verb: secondary because the "derivational affix", i.e., the noun, is attached to the fully inflected form. Structurally, however, the forms are fully described by the regular verb phrase constructions. In all instances the noun involved pertains to a part of the body.

E.g.

//ké·ʔekú·ʔ// 'give' ({ké·ʔ}) 'take, bring', {ə₇} '(attributive)', {kú·ʔ} 'face'.)

//siřo·ŋkú·ʔ// 'be ashamed' ({siřó·ŋ} does not occur; {kú·ʔ} 'face')

//véʔləkúy// 'pray for', {vé·ʔ} 'speak'. {l} 'up', {ə₄} '(non-personal referent)', {kúy} 'head, top'

When the nominal suffix begins with a vowel, the juncture is replaced by ʔ, e.g.

{ʔakáha + elló·n} → //ʔakáhaʔelló·n// 'to know (a fact)' {ʔakáh} 'know', {ə₇} '(attributive)',

//elló·n// 'insides (of a person)'

//kuñáhəʔelmát// 'to hate' ({kuñáh} 'be unpleasant tasting', //elmát// 'eyeball')

960. Minor Verbal Suffixes

The minor verbal suffixes presented below share the characteristic that they are either of extremely limited distribution or of very infrequent occurrence. Some additionally are of quite obscure meaning.

1. Suffixes of very restricted distribution.

{mə} and {həc} are presented together because they both have been observed only with the one stem {róŋ} 'to still be doing, engaged in'. They seem to add the idea 'while'. róŋhəc is a predicate, róŋmə a predicate auxiliary.

E.g.

//róŋhəc řé·n cin, fá·l.// 'I'm still running.'

//róŋmə fá·l cin.// 'I'm still running.'

//pořó· aŋúhʔə, nə hát, ŋac s̄ĩn aŋáhʔə, nə róŋmə
el camámřε.// 'Although it is light he is still
in bed.'

//róŋhəc rěn cin, vé·ʔəkú·ʔ lí·pořε.// 'I'm still
reading.'

Whitehead lists the suffix {həc}, which is not in my data. He gives the meaning 'a verbal affix denoting continuance of action or state. c.f. haka; hak.' This is perhaps the same morpheme as {həc}, above.

{řén}, of obscure meaning and use, is seen in the derivation of //kó·ʔeřén// 'be able' from {kó·ʔ-} 'be able'. Note the following examples.

//kó·ʔəñén yin ñác, vó·k.// 'You can bathe now.'

(Can you now bathe.)

//...ñác kó·ʔəñén əñe məhʔə, ʔət ñá·teló·n, té·cu,
kó·ʔ tú·klén məh.// '...and you would not be
able to think that I could pull you up.' (...and
can would you, not-think, that I, can pull-up
you.)

{řə} is seen in only the following example.

//ké·ʔəře əp kanú·t cu man, i kúy mí·s.// 'Go and
get my comb on the table.' (Get the comb my you,
on top table.)

Whitehead corroborates these forms and suggests that the ř is a phonological variant of {t} 'down, toward'. This may well be the case.

2. The following suffixes all occur elsewhere as noun roots or numeral suffixes.

{řít} as a noun root means 'tail, end'; it occurs suffixed to a simple, passive, or non-personal referent verb and indicates that the event or person named follows some other event or person.

//rókħəře ró·ʔ in séh, ʔunó·cřít ək ʔinlé·n.// 'We
all said "boo" after the lecture.' (All-together
say we boo, after-end it-was lecture.)

//tíməřít cin, te ñam píhəře.// 'I'm followed by
my wife.' (Follow-after I, by the wife.)

{tít} with both numerals and verbs, indicates that something is the 'remains, what is left'.

E.g.

//lú·ytít nup kúk cé·?// 'Three units of coconut remain.' (Three-remain these nuts remnant.)

//cá·ctít limón en nǐh.// 'This is the remains of a squeezed lemon.' (Squeeze-remain lemon it this.)

The meaning of {tít} is obscure in the following example.

//ví·tít nǐh ?inrú· cin.// 'I'm mending the umbrella.'
(Make-remain this umbrella I.)

Whitehead considers this occurrence of {tít} as a separate morpheme, meaning that 'something has been renewed'.

{váh} as a noun refers to a wound or perhaps death. As a verb suffix it connotes coercion or relentless pursuance - perhaps to the point of death. It occurs with non-personal referent verbs.

E.g.

//lí·pneváh ɔ cin, nə hiyó·y.// 'I force him to drink'
(Force-away-insistently him I, he drink.)

//?akí·neváh əp tíksəneĩ·? cin.// 'I'm out to get a dictionary.' (i.e. I'm determined to have one)
([Determined to get]-(perfective)-insistant the dictionary I.)

1000. The Interrogative

Eight of the twelve interrogatives are an interlocking set of forms which share morphemic composition. The "class" is essentially a semantic one, with only some of the forms sharing distributions. It is convenient to present them together along with their statements of distribution, to describe their morphemic structure and to facilitate reference. Tactically, they fall into four structural classes; they are presented according to the class-defining criteria.

1. Predicate interrogatives: forms which occur in predicate position.

- (a) Forms occurring both with or without a following noun:

sitíh	'How'
?asúh	'What'
isuh	'Where'
iřó·?	'How long'

- (b) Forms not occurring with a following:

IMR	
?acíh	'Who'
ehé·	'When'

These two interrogative distributions parallel those of non-referential verbs when they occur in predicational position; they might be considered as

verbal interrogatives, i.e., as occurring as the head of the VR and VNR constructions, respectively. But as N' is optional with VNR but obligatory here with INR, and as the interrogatives are not distributed in the satellite construction, this analysis is rejected.

E.g.

- (a) //sitíh tí·? ap nə fé·lán?// 'How did he beat him?'
 //tətək, isúh əy ahéh?// 'Hot-water, where shall we search?'
 (b) //?acíh.ap min kiřé·nəře, te yí·??// 'Which of you will go?'
 //ehé· əm vé·?ekú·? ŋíh lí·pəře?// 'When are you going to want this book?'

2. Forms occurring as NP', i.e. as a nominal or verbal possessor, e.g.

yíh 'where, in (from) what direction'
 cíh 'who'

E.g. //iyén yíh əm?// 'Where do you stay?' (stay where you)

//sahák cíh aŋ ŋóh ká·?, ŋóh?// 'Who caught this fish?' ([What is caught] who it this fish, this.)

3. Numerator question word, i.e.

?á·m 'How many'

iró·k- 'How big' (The affixed forms are discussed under quantifiers, sec. 620.)

{ʔá·m} is distributed as a numeral, {iró·k-} as a numeral plus classifier, e.g.

//ʔá·m taka yip tañík, ɛl ʔuřóhɔ.// 'How many men are in the room? (i.e., 'what quantity')

4. A single question particle of unique distribution, i.e.

yóh 'Which, what'

Distribution

- (a) as object of verb, e.g.

//akí·r yóh ɛm méhʔɛ?// 'What are you after?'

- (b) in the unique construction which follows.

Three of the interrogatives, {isúh}, {yíh}, and {yóh}, occur in the following idiomatic phrasal construction:

Subordinate pronoun + Interrogative

The construction is a minimal sentence.

E.g.

//ɛm isúh?// 'Where?' (with respect to you)

//nɛ yóh?// 'Why?' (with respect to him)

{yíh} is only found in one example, i.e.

//ap yíh?// 'Which?'

A subordinate pronoun + {yóh} may occur as a member of IR, i.e., predicationally and optionally before N'; the pronoun of the {yóh} phrase agrees with that of the subject.

E.g.

//ap yšh ap tařík ró·? msh?// 'Which man were you speaking about?'

Interrogative derivation involves the following morphemes.

Derivational prefixes:

{?ín} 'locative' (allomorph //i// occurs here)
(Sec.)

{a} '(concrete reference)'

The distribution of the prefixes defines two classes of roots.

A. {hé·} 'when' (subordinate conjunction,
sec.)

{súh} 'what'

{ró·?} 'length'

{ró·k} 'size'

B. {cáh} 'who'

The constructional statements are as follows.

1. {?ín} + A

SR: //i// → //V₁// /_hV₁

E.g.

//isúh// 'where'

//ehé·// 'when'

2. {ʔa} + $\left[\begin{array}{c} B \\ \{súh\} \end{array} \right]$

I.e.

//ʔacíh// 'who'

//ʔasúh// 'what'

2000. Minor Form Classes

The minor form classes comprise nineteen small classes, many of which consist of a single member and all but three of which are uninflected particles. The non-particle classes described here include the adjective, the temporal locative, and the demonstrative locative. The adjective is a derived form consisting of a particle plus a stem of any of several classes. The temporal locatives only turn up as particles in my data; Whitehead presents them in a number of suffixed forms, most of which appear to be verbal suffixes. The demonstrative locatives are a small class of roots which may occur derivationally with a locative prefix and inflectionally with a deictic suffix. Their distribution and use are similar to those of the temporal locatives, hence their inclusion with the minor form classes.

The statement of distribution of each of the classes in this section is presented along with the description of the forms, obviating the need of including them in the tactic statements of Chapter III, thus greatly simplifying the presentation there.

(Sheet missing)

2010. The grammatical relator

{tə}'(grammatical relator)' introduces words, clauses, and phrases of a modificational nature. Specifically, it introduces the adjective, which is described below, and (1) the respectful satellite, and (2) the indirect statement, both of which are related in an expansional or modificational way to the predication.

E.g.

- (1) //lɔ̃·cɲə cin, tɛ ɲam cɔ̃·n.// 'I run past the tree.' ([Run past]-away I, of the tree.)
 (2) //ʔakáhe lɔ̃·n cin, tɛ ɔ̃ min, ne yih.// 'I know that he will come.' (Know [do mind] I, that he will, he come.)

2020. The adjective

The adjective is a phrasal construction consisting of {tə} 'grammatical relator' plus or minus {ʔet}'negative', plus a verb, a numeral, or the quotational {ɲə}.

$$\text{Adj: } + \{tə\} \pm \{ʔet\} + \begin{cases} \text{Numeral} \\ \text{Verb} \\ \{ɲə\} \end{cases}$$

When {tə} and {ʔet} 'negative' occur in sequence they frequently contract to //tət//; i.e., the glottal stop and one of the schwas are dropped. As with {ʔet} {tə} or //tət// plus a word beginning with a stressed syllable usually do not occur with intervening juncture and are written as a single word, e.g.

//tətɔ̃·ʔ// 'unable'; //tələ̃·n// 'good'

On the basis of the available data it has not been possible to determine the function of the inflectional suffixes with verbs in the adjective construction. Neither has it been possible to determine whether all the suffixed forms of each verb may occur freely as adjectives, or whether, at the other extreme, a single configuration is used with each verb as the only adjective type. The data are suggestive that in fact there is some freedom of occurrence of the various verb forms in the adjective construction, but that there are limitations of a highly idiosyncratic nature, requiring that very specific statements be made - statements which the available data do not allow. It may be said in general that no examples are found in the adjective construction of verbs having the personal referent, non-personal referent, or possessive suffixes. This is an area requiring additional data and study.

Examples of adjectives:

//təp'ikle// 'springing' (intransitive locative)

//təsúkteře// 'picked up' (passive)

//təsáh// 'black'

//terá·?ekú·?// 'lowland' ({kú·?} 'face, surface')

//tə tafú·lteře// 'six more' (incremental numeral)

//tehén// 'one'

//teņe// 'which is thus'

Note: the numeral adjective is distinguished as Adj_n due to its slightly different tactic distribution.

2030. The demonstrative adjective

{*ŋam*} 'the' is a non-locative deictic adjective. In its occurrence as the subject expansion of a third person non-past visible pronoun, i.e. {*an*} 'he' or {*nun*} 'they', {*ŋam*} occurs essentially as a semantically empty position holder if the noun is intangible and abstract.

//*kiřéŋ an ŋam nákeló·n ɔ.*// 'His generosity is great'

//*máke an ŋam pinhé·ʔekú·ʔ.*// 'The fear is apparent'

When a concrete noun follows {*ŋam*} the latter is redundant in that the preceding //*an*// '3rd. sg. vis. pres.' also marks singularity and visibility, e.g.

//*kápe cu an ŋam ʔám.*// 'The dog bit me'

//*palín an ŋam pilín.*// 'The bottle is rolling'

Additional examples:

//*kasóh ŋam có·n cin.*// 'I slip-knot-tied the log'

//*ké·ʔtə ŋam mú·ŋəřε.*// 'Bring the club'

//*hařún ŋam ří·ʔ, nə kú·c.*// 'Train the child to write'

2040. Adverb

An adverb is a word which occupies the final tactic position of the phrasal predicator construction. The class includes the demonstrative locatives and the following three morphemes.

{hé·k}	'again'
{sín}	'for a moment, previously'
{takó·}	'very' (predicate emphatic)

E.g.

//tí·c hé·k yik tańík.// 'The men planted again.'

(Plant again those-past men.)

//kĩñ takó·? an.// 'He is very old.'

//ható·?əřε sín cá?ə, nə kú·?ətə la?ó·ti.// 'First of all they raced to the opposite side.' ([Go to opposite side]-reflexive first-of-all they, they face-to La?c·ti.)

{hé·k} also occurs in one example in which it appears to be a simple predicate followed by a subject phrase, i.e. //hé·k mé· yá·c tańík, nəŋ katú·yarén.// 'Again those poor men rushed out in vain.' (Again those poor man, they-only [be in vain].)

2050. Temporal locatives

The temporal locatives are a class of six words which locate the predication in time, i.e.

{amóh}	'last night'
{huríc}	'tomorrow'
{misí·?}	'long ago'
{tahíy}	'just now'

{təŋamúh} 'today'

{vahé·r} 'yesterday'

{təŋamúh} is a derivative, consisting of the distal demonstrative pronoun /ŋamúh/ 'that' plus the prefixed adjective morpheme {tə}.

The temporal locatives are distributed as follows:

1. predicationally,
2. after the demonstrative adjective, {ŋam} 'the', in locative phrases,
3. after the predicational nucleus or, optionally, clause semi-finally, either preceding or following an optionally present demonstrative locative.

When occurring after a predicational nucleus which has as its subject an expanded 3rd person 'not-visible' or 'past' pronoun, the temporal locative occurs before the expansion.

- (1) //vahé·r an, nə ké·ʔtu.// 'It was bought yesterday. (Yesterday it, it bought.)
- (2) //hõ· kaláh cin, hé·k kú·c eksé·m, i ŋam təŋamúh.// 'I want to try to take the exam this time.' (Want try I, again write exam, in the now.)
- (3) //hén taka ek misí· tafí·si.// 'Once there was a widow. (One [person] she was long-ago widow. P + Sub + A_t + S_{exp}.)

//vé·ñunán cin, tē có·n, huríc.// 'I'll be
told by John tomorrow.' (Say-[passive]-
ear I, by John, tomorrow.)

//ñáckú·? cin, taháy, nã·?.// 'I already
ate just now.' (Already-face I, just-
now, eat.)

In its use as a predicate, {vahé·r} occurs as a stem in VP₃, i.e., before a noun, e.g.

//vahé·rē ?inváhē an ñam máñka.// 'The mango was
bought yesterday.' (Yesterday-[attributive]
buying it the mango.)

Whitehead presents various suffixed forms in his dictionary; they are presented here in the likelihood that they would turn up in a larger corpus. An indication of what the analysis of the suffixual construction might be is also given.

-ēten 'from-onward' is given with {amēh}, {tēñamuh} and {misi·}. The suffix looks like the directional {t} 'toward, down' plus {rēn} 'involuntary action; the schwa is unaccounted for.

-hañen is given with {tēñamuh}, where it seems to be my {qañén} 'deleterious effect', and with {vahē·} where the meaning is 'from yesterday'; this does not seem to be the same as {qañén} and is unaccounted for.

{huríc} is presented with three suffix configurations, as follows: huríclēñē 'the coming of the morrow' (looks

like the Incremental quantifier sequence, sec. 634);
 hurĩcqeñit (pertains to leaving tomorrow; looks like {ŋ}
 'away, [perfective]' plus {e} 'non-personal referent'
 plus {ñit}, the minor verbal suffix which indicates that
 something follows something else); hurĩca 'tomorrow'
 (/a/ looks like the stative {a₂}; its use is not clear
 from the data.)

2060. Demonstrative locatives

The demonstrative locatives are a class of forms which are identified by both morphological and tactic criteria. Morphologically, they occur with {ʔa} 'specificative', a morpheme which also occurs with the demonstrative pronouns. Tactically, they are distributed like locative phrases; their specific distribution is given below. Semantically, as a class the forms locate the action of the predication in space.

The demonstrative locative roots (DL) are as follows:

{hĩh}	'here'
{mũh}	'there'

The DLs are optionally but usually prefixed with //i//, which is probably an allomorph of {ʔin} 'in, at, to', e.g.

//hĩh - ihĩh//	'here'
//mũh - imũh// → /mũh - ʔumũh/	'there'

The demonstrative locatives are distributed as follows.

1. Predicationally.
2. As adverbs, i.e. following, and in immediate constituency with, a predicate.
3. Clause finally, in immediate constituency with the clause. (i.e., as a clause satellite.)
4. In one example, before the expansion of a 3rd person 'past' pronoun subject. This is a distribution they share uniquely with the temporal locatives.

Derivatives occur with the prefixes {ɛl} 'in', and {lá·ʔ} '(classifier with paired body parts)'. The derived forms occur too infrequently for a definitive statement on distribution; however, they are found in distributions 2 and 3, above.

The four forms are as follows (note the unstressed allomorph //la// of {lá·ʔ}):

//ɛlmúh; ɛlhíh// 'over in there; in here'

//lamúh; lahíh// 'on that side; on this side'

The emphatic morpheme {ʔa} '(specificative)' occurs with the demonstrative locatives and their derivatives, as it does with the demonstrative pronouns, when the speaker is pointing to or emphatically singling out the location.

DL
DL derivatives } + {ʔa}

E.g.

//imúhʔa// → /ʔumúʔã/ 'there' (specificative)

//lahíhʔa// → /lahíʔa/ 'on this side' (specificative)

Examples of use of demonstrative locatives.

1) //ihíh cin.// 'Here I come.'

2) //ʔiyĩŋ híh cin.// 'I live here.' (Live here I.)

3) //ʔú·cŋəře man, imúh.// → /ʔú·cŋəře man, ʔumúh./
'Sit down there.' (Sit-down-reflexive you, there.)

//míkán cin, lamúhʔa.// → /má·kán cin, lamúʔã./
'I see him yonder.' (See-him I, yonder.)

4) //hén taka ek imúh tafí·si.// 'There is one
widow.' (One [classifier: people] she-was
there widow.)

A form similar in shape and distribution to the demonstrative locatives is {íʔa} 'next, last, there'. It occurs clause finally and adjectivally and locates the action in time as well as in space.

E.g.

//ik íʔa ciŋĕ·t řané·nŋə an.// 'The conception
was last month.' (In was last month conception
it.)

//ʔú·céře man, íʔa.// 'Sit down next to me.'
(Sit-[perfective]-self you, next.)

2070. The directional locatives

The directional locatives are two forms which pertain to the direction or location of the action or condition. Their distributions are similar but not identical.

{*el*} 'inside, into, in the midst of', in contrast to the general directional-locational focusing morpheme {*ʔin*}, very specifically pertains to the spatial or metaphorical locus 'in, inside, into'.

E.g.

//*súkteře an, n \acute{e} el m \acute{a} k.*// 'He fell into the water.'

(Fall-down-self he, he in water.)

//*elkú·yu an có·n, n \acute{e} el iskú·l.*// 'John is clever

in school.' (Intelligence-have he John, he in school.)

{*el*} occurs as the first morpheme in many derivatives; //*elkú·y*// 'head, skull' (in-top), is one example.

//*elkatóh*// 'under' is another derivative with {*el*}: a derived locative. //*katóh*// 'below' is not attested elsewhere. The distribution of //*elkatóh*// is identical to that of {*el*}.

E.g.

//*elkatóh ap có·n*// 'under the tree'

{*in*} expresses location, direction, or accompaniment. It is translated as 'in, on, at, by, from,

with, of, to'. It has the following allomorphy.

ʔín ∞ i

ʔín occurs with proper animate nouns, possessive pronouns, and {r̃ε} 'reflexive', e.g.

//ʔínɔ// 'with him'

//ʔínr̃ε// 'to oneself'

//ʔín có·n// 'to John'

i occurs elsewhere, e.g.

//i káha có·ŋ// 'to the side of the ship'

//i ŋam lí·pə̃r̃ε// 'in the book'

{ín} is distributed as follows:

1. As the introducer to the locative phrase, e.g.

//i kuyá·yə// 'by the seashore'

2. With the possessive suffix {uvə} as a predicate meaning 'have', e.g.

//hō· ʔínu cin, té ε.// 'I want to have it.'

(Want have I, of it.)

2080. Modal particles

The modal particles express the likelihood of the occurrence of an event. The class consists of four forms which typically occur after the clause subject. They may, however, precede the subject if it is an emphatic

pronoun. The members of the class are as follows:

{min} 'will' (future) is distributionally idiosyncratic in that in passive sentences it may occur after either the subject or the agent.

A derivative of {min} is //mínə//, which has the same distribution as {min} and seems to indicate a greater degree of certitude on the part of the speaker as to the occurrence of the future event. Its meaning is not entirely clear.

//pasúh ap laʔén meh mínə, ip hařáp?// 'What will you do this evening? (What it-[non-past] doing your will-[definite], in-[non-past] evening.)

//hasí·nə ʔinsí·n cin mínə.// 'I will (definitely) put up the stabilizing beams.' (Fit-[perfective] beams I will-[definite].)

//hasí·nə ʔinsí·n cin min.// 'I will put up the stabilizing beams (probably).'

//ʔakáhəló·n cin, té ɔ min, nə yíh.// 'I know that he will come.' (Know I, that he will, he come.)

{ñin} 'might' (potential) indicates that an action or condition might occur.

//vé·ʔñunán cin, tə cé·n, tə lú·si ñin, nə yíh, nə ihíh.// 'I'm told by Jane that Lucy might come here.' (Say-out-[passive]-ear I, by Jane, that Lucy might, she come, she here.)

//yĩŋ! ʔət mikáh hí·ʔ ey, hɛŋ pɔŋŋə nam ciŋé·t, yé·
 ɔ nə ŋó·kə, pó·ʔ ɔ ñin, nə ŋé·ktue tɛp tulán.//
 'Oh! How foolish we are to toll for the moon,
 if it is eclipse, because it might be swallowed
 by the python.' (Oh! No knowledge our, we only
 toll-out the moon, if it it eclipse, because it
 might, it swallow-down-[passive] by-the-[non-
 past] python.)

{lan} '(intentional)' indicates that the speaker intends
 to accomplish an action; it implies desire to do so.

//ʔasúh ap lan laʔén məh, huríc?// 'What are you
 going to do tomorrow?' (What it-[non-past]
 intend do you, tomorrow.)

//hõ· yih cin lan, ʔin məh.// 'I wish to come to
 you.' (Want come I intend, to you.)

{əřɛ} 'would' (conditional) indicates that the action
 is contingent on some other condition or action. If
 both the condition and conditioned clauses occur, {əřɛ}
 occurs with the one which is stated first; it optionally
 occurs also with the second.

//láʔevrén cin əřɛ té ɛ, yec imúh.// 'I would have
 done it if I were there.' (Do I would of it, if-
 I there.)

//yé· məh əřɛ, lahé·ʔ hɛŋ řɔŋti mikáh, iřó·ta
 miné· sanó·ykú·řɛ, ŋác kó·ʔəřén əřɛ məhʔə,
 ʔət ñáteló·n té cu, kó·ʔ tú·klén məh.// 'If you

had only half as much brain as you have beard
 you would not have thought that I would pull
 you up.' (If you would better only half know-
 ledge, at size these hair-face-your, then able-
 [involuntary] would you, not [be thought]-
 mind that I, able pull-up you.)

2090. Subordinate conjunctions

The subordinate conjunctions are a class of four forms which occur in the initial tactic position of the subordinate clause; they are as follows.

{hé·}	'when'
{hǒ·}	'so that' (homophonous with {hǒ·} 'want to')
{pó·?}	'because'
{yé·}	'if'

E.g.

//ʔú·chaka cin, hé· məh min, lǐptekú·? ʔinkú·p.//

'I will be sitting when you close the door.'

(Sit-[continuative] I, when you will close-down-face door.)

//hén ke kalú·y nəŋ yí·ʔə, hǒ· yí·?, ʔət laŋán.//

'Each of you take three, so that you won't be burdened down.' (Only each three [classifier: long object] you, [so that] you not weighted.)

//nati·ʔyin vé· tə ʔakáha tañík, yé·n poŋó· nə

kapán.// 'Thus it is for good men, even though they are dead.' (Thus they these which good men, if-they although they dead.)

{hé·} 'when' also occurs as the introducer to the durative phrase, e.g.

//mañ·?qañén misí·?, i pú·, hé· yik má·misí·?, hén taka ek te ?akáha tañík.// 'Long ago in Car Nicobar, during the time of the ancestors, there was a certain good man.' (Long-[deleterious effect] ago, in [Car Nicobar], during those ancestors, one [classifier: people] he-was of good man.)

2100. Predicate auxiliaries

The predicate auxiliaries occur as the first element of the phrasal predicator, after the optional connective. Three predicate auxiliary morphemes have been identified, as follows:

{hõ·} 'want to'

{hén} 'only, simply' (Recall that the subordinate pronoun {nə} plus {hén} contract to //nəh//)

//róñmə// 'still' (The derivation is described in sec. 960).

E.g.

//?əthõ· haróh cin.// 'I don't want to sleep.'

//milá·cén an ñón ní·?, nə hõ· i yíñrē.// 'The child is whining to be with his parents.'

(Whine-[involuntary] he this child, he want with parent-self.)

//cúh ?ítki an, nəh hén tak.// 'He went to Itki

alone.' ([Go to] Itki he, he-only one [classifier: people])

//hén ĩl cin, ihíh.// 'I'm not yet here.' (Only [not be] I, here.)

//róŋmē vó·k cin.// 'I'm still bathing.'

2110. The distributive

{kə} '[distributive]' indicates that the action or condition of the predicate pertains severally to each member of a plural subject. It occurs immediately before the predicate of a phrasal predicator, having been attested with verbs and numerals.

//kə róktikú·ʔɛ nun miné· kinlañpá·.// 'The holes are of various sizes.' (Each [be size]-to-face-self they these hole.)

//hén kə kalú·y nŋ yí·ʔə, hǒ·ʔ yí·ʔ, ʔet laŋán.//

'Each of you take only three of them so that you won't be burdened.' (Only each three [classifier: long objects] you, so you not burden.)

2120. Connectives

There are two connectives, each having differing distributions and requiring separate statements.

{ŋac} 'and' indicates action sequence, that the event mentioned occurs next and happens at once. It is very frequent in narrative texts. Distributionally, it occurs either in the first tactic position in the

clause or, alternately, as a subject substitute, in which case the clause subject is identical to that of the preceding clause. In this latter position it has a stressed allomorph, //ŋác//; it may be followed by a subject expansion.

E.g.

//ŋac hé· ca, nə káhá·teró·?, nə tikÍkró·?řε...//

'And when they finished singing a song...'

(And when they, they finish-voice, they sing-self...)

//yó·nle ŋác, aŋ teké·n.// 'Industrious then climbed up.' (Climb up then, she Industrious.)

//tú·ktén o ŋác, nə i rón haví·ŋe.// 'She then pulled her down from the cobweb.' (Pull-down her then, she from strand cobweb.)

//cé·rə kalřé·n ŋác teké·n.// 'Industrious was then stiff legged.' (Stiff leg then Industrious.)

{peñi} 'but', is an alternate or adversative correlator; it puts the clause with which it occurs into contrast with the preceding clause or sentence.

Distributionally {peñi} is found after the predicator. Specifically, it occurs in the data following verbs; its position with respect to adverbs, which also follow verbs, cannot be determined from the data.

{peñi} has a stressed allomorph, //peñih//, which occurs in macrosegment-final position.

E.g.

//pəřǒ· cin hakǎptén ɔ tɛ hisá·p, sǎnŋəřɛ pəři
 aŋáhʔə, nə ʔəthǎví·ʔ.// 'Although I taught him
 math, as yet he doesn't know.' (Although I teach
 him of sum, yet-[perfective]-[reflexive] however
 he, he not-know.)

//cǎ·rə kalřé·n ŋac aŋáhʔə, irúhəřé·n pəřiŋ, nə cúh
 mát ŋam ciŋé·t.// 'She was then lame, but con-
 tinuing, she went to the moon.' (Stiff legged
 and she, continue-[by foot] but, she [go to]
 face the moon.)

2130. Coordinators

{inře·} 'and, also' coordinates words or phrases of
 the same grammatical class; it occurs at the end of the
 series.

E.g.

//ná·ʔ an, kú·c an, vé·ʔkú· lí·pəřɛ inře·.// 'He
 eats, writes, and reads.' (Eat he, write he,
 read book and.)

//kalú·ctɛ mák cin, nə i tú·t, i ʔók inře·.// 'I
 mix water with milk and coconut milk.' (Mix-
 to water I, it with milk, with [coconut milk]
 and.)

{ná·ʔ} '(dual coordinator)' and {hé·} '(plural coor-
 dinator)' occur before the proper animate nouns in a
 series to be coordinated. {ná·ʔ} occurs before each of

two nouns in a series; {hé·} occurs before each of three or more, e.g.

//ná·? frét, ná·? líviŋ// 'Fred and Livingstone'
 //hé· có·n, hé· mé·ří, hé· lú·si// 'John, Mary and
 Lucy.'

Ordinarily in sequences of three or more names the {hé·} coordinator occurs only with the first, with the final noun followed by {inře·} 'and, also', e.g.

//hé· có·n, mé·ří, lú·si inře·// 'John, Mary, and
 Lucy.'

2140. {ʔət} negation

Word-level negation is accomplished by the occurrence of {ʔət} '(negative)' before the word to be negated. It occurs with verbs, predicate auxiliaries, nouns, demonstrative adverbs, numerals, and the locative.

When {ʔət} occurs before a word beginning with a stressed syllable the intervening juncture is dropped. In such instances {ʔət} is written as a prefix.

E.g.

with nouns

//ʔətli·peřue// 'have no book'

//ʔətló·nue// 'want nothing'

with verbs

//ʔətví·?tu// 'not fitted'

//ʔət kahúlŋue// 'to not have cooked'

with predicate auxiliaries

//ʔəth^h•// 'not want to'

with numerals

//ʔəthéŋə// 'not a single'

with demonstrative adverbs

//ʔət imúh// 'not there'

with the locative

//ʔətʔín// 'not with'

2150. The Quotational particle

{ŋə} '[quotational]' indicates that what is said is a direct quote; it occurs in an explanatory clause either preceding or following the quote, occurring either predicationally or adjectivally.

{ŋə} has the allomorph //ŋeh// when occurring with macrosegmental stress.

E.g.

//háŋ ək ró•ʔ cin, tə ŋéh, "fálŋəŋə man".// 'I heard a voice saying "Run".' (Hear the-was voice I, which thus, "Run-away-self you".)

//"tulán! tulán!" ŋə aŋáhʔə, nə hú•ʔa.// '"Python! python!" he said, crying out.' (Python! python! said he, he [cry out]-[stative].)

//lĭktén an, nə taʔókə, miné•ʔñə, ŋam tɛŋə manáh, "təʔókə".// 'Therefore it is called taʔókə, which means, "which is drunk".' (Therefore, it, it taʔókə, name, the which thus interpret, ["which is drunk"].)

2160. Action referents

The action referents are a class of three forms which are defined by their unique distribution in the respectful satellite. Each is a term referring to a part of the body; it indicates that the action of the verb is accomplished - probably by the said body part. The forms are as follows.

{kú·?} 'face, surface; do by hand'

{řé·n} 'foot; do by foot'

{tí·?} is historically a noun meaning 'hand' but now is found with that meaning only in derived forms; it never itself occurs in the noun phrase. As a free form {tí·?} means 'do by hand'.

2170. The obligational {pəcə}

{pəcə} is a particle of unique distribution, occurring in immediate constituency with the subject of an Independent clause. The subject is always a subordinate pronoun and is infixed in {pəcə} after the initial CV; c.f. the discussion of pronominal contractions, sec.

{pəcə} expresses obligation, necessity, or command; it gives emphasis to a request. Its most frequent distribution is with the subject of imperative clauses.

E.g.

//lĭk hĭh pəmcə.// 'Stop by sometime.' ([Go-via]
here you-[obligational].)

2180. Predicational particles

The predicational particles are morphemes which are identified by their sole distribution as simple predicates. Four such forms have been identified, one of which is derived from one of the others. The forms are as follows.

- {pořó·} 'although, even though'
 {ʔúh} '(negative imperative) Don't!'
 {řéh} '(negative interrogative)'
 //řéhʔə// '(negative emphatic)'; //řéhʔə// often
 is used simply as a negative affirmative:
 'to not be'

{řéh} has the following allomorphy.

řéh ∞ héh

řéh ∞ héh occurs with {!..ʔə} 'emphatic', i.e.

//řéhʔə - héhʔə//

řéh occurs elsewhere.

//řéhʔə// 'negative emphatic', consists of {řéh} + {!..ʔə}. {!..ʔə} 'emphatic' is distributed elsewhere with pronouns.

Recall that {ʔúh} and {řéh} contract with following pronouns.

A clause which has {pořó·} as predicate always has a predicate satellite expansion and is coordinated with an independent clause, usually one with a form of {sín} 'yet, nevertheless' (V_1) as its predicate.

E.g.

//pɔ̃r̃ó· aŋúhʔe, nə kumráh, sɪ́nŋə̃r̃e cúʔe, əc
 kĩr̃é·nŋə̃r̃e.// 'Although it is raining, yet
 I went. (Although it, it rain, yet I, I went.)

2190. Exclamations

Exclamations are identified by their distribution in fragmentary sentences, in which there is always an emphatic stress. Semantically they fall into two categories: vocatives and expressions of surprise.

Vocatives:

cá·?	'Sick 'em!' (said to dogs)
cóh	'Here!' (archaic; used in giving something)
cón	'Let me see it!'
kamó·	'Hey there!' (said to ask if anyone is present)
kuróh	'Go!'
ḡesín	'Wait!'
péh	'Now!' (especially referring to going)
yéh	'Now!'
ʔáh	'Here goat!'
ʔǎh	'Here, take it!'

{yéh} may modify a verb, in which case the verb has the emphatic stress. This shows that the strong stress is an intonational rather than morphemic feature, e.g. yéh mák! 'Hey look!'

Additional examples of vocative exclamations:

/cón! ké·?te ḡam kunhá·k./	'Let me see it! Give (me) the razor.'
/ʔǎh! ké?e ḡh savón man./	'Here! Take this soap!'

Exclamations expressing surprise

hén	'Oh!' (startled)
//kapáh cin.//	'(lit) I died!' (expresses great surprise and displeasure; comparable to 'Oh my God!')
máh	'Oh!' (startled)
séh	'Boo!'
víc	'Gone!' (said if a bird suddenly gets away. c.f. víc 'at once, immediately')
yǐŋ	'Oh!' (expresses surprise at great quantity)
ʔák, ʔákrám	'Good!', 'I told you so!'
ʔaí. , ʔí.	'How lovely!', 'Oh!'
ʔéh	'Oh no!' (expresses astonishment or dismay)
ʔík	'Ouch!'

Examples

/ʔáí.!: tɔvǎ.yénʔan ŋóh kún ñǐ.ʔ/ 'Oh! The child is pretty.'

/yǐŋ!: ñá.hǎ ŋam ñǐ.ʔ, nə fé.lə/ 'Oh! The child is being beaten.'

CHAPTER THREE

TACTICS

3000. The tactic description presented here should perhaps be termed a characterization rather than a description. It simply is not possible from the data to give a detailed analysis. An attempt rather is made to somewhat informally present the lower level constructions and the major tactic units within which they are distributed. The description begins with the mid-level constructions, i.e., the clause, proceeds to the sentence, and concludes with the phrase.

3100. The clause

The clause consists minimally of a predicational nucleus; it may be expanded by a modal and one or more satellites. Two types of clauses occur in contrastive structure differing with respect to word order and the presence or absence of various introducers; they are Independent and Dependent clauses.

3110. The Independent clause (IC) is summarized by the following statement.

IC: + Pred. nucl. \pm Modal \pm Satellites

Pred. nucl.: + Predicator + Independent subject

Abbreviations:

Pred. nucl. = predicational nucleus Conn. = connective

Pred. aux. = predicate auxiliary

The clausal constituents which are not coterminous with a single morphological class are described as follows.

3111. Predicators are of two types: phrasal and simple.

Phrasal predicator:

± Conn. ± Pred. aux. ± {kə} + Predicate_p

Predicate _p :	verb phrase
(unrestricted)	locative phrase
	numeral phrase

Simple predicator:

Predicate _{s₁} :	demonstrative locative
(unrestricted)	demonstrative pronoun
	noun phrase
	possessive noun or locative
	durative phrase
	{ɛl} phrase

Predicate _{s₂} :	temporal locative
(restricted)	emphatic pronoun
	predicational particle
	adverbial numeral
	interrogative phrase

Note: A predicational nucleus having an adverbial numeral or a predicational particle as predicate obligates the occurrence of a satellite; such a predicational nucleus functions essentially as an introducer, the major predicational comment occurring in the

satellite.

Restricted predicates occur only in predicate position. Unrestricted predicates may also occur in the predicational satellite.

3112. The Independent Subject is of two types: simple and bipartite.

Simple subject: Emphatic pronoun
 {pəcə} '(obligational)'
 + Subordinate pronoun
 Proper noun

A bipartite subject consists of a subject nucleus plus an optional expansion.

Bipartite subject: + Nucleus ± Expansion

Nucleus: Subject pronoun
 Interrogative pronoun

Expansion: NP_s
 Proper noun₁
 Emphatic pronoun₁
 Demonstrative pronoun₁

Subscript 1 in the expansion tags the morphemes which must agree with the subject pronoun as to person, number, and/or animate/inanimate.

When the expansion is a proper noun it is set off phonologically by comma juncture, e.g.

//laŋán an, cǝ·n.// 'John is heavy.'

Interrogative pronouns have not been observed with demonstrative pronoun expansion.

The subject is frequently omitted in requests or commands.

E.g.

//kápan!// 'Stab him!'

//ké·ʔtə kanú·c cu.// 'Give me a pen.'

3113. Satellites

Satellites are of two types: predicational and respectful. They may co-occur, as may a sequence of more than one of a particular type.

3113.1 Predicational satellites are phrasal constructions consisting of an optional subordinate pronoun plus an unrestricted predicate. The satellite adds predicational comment to one of the substantive elements of the predicational nucleus. The subordinate pronoun designates the subject of the satellite. Its pronominal reference is to either the subject or object of the predicational nucleus, which is being expanded by the satellite. The subordinate pronoun is clarificational in use, usually being omitted if the relationship of the satellite to the clause is clear. When the subject is a third person, however, the subordinate pronoun is only rarely omitted.

E.g.

//yǝ·kle ɲác, ɲam ʔám, (nə) i ʔúk ɔ.// 'The dog

climbed up on his back.' ({nə} 'he' refers to
 the noun of the subject expansion, i.e. {ʔám} 'dog')
 //kasále məh cin, əm tisékŋə kúy ŋih mák.//
 'I dare you to jump across this well.' ({əm}
 'you' [subordinate] refers to {məh} 'you'
 [possessive].)

The relationship between the predicate of the
 nucleus and the satellite remains to be worked out.
 There may well be co-occurrence restrictions between
 the tactic units which may occur in the predicational
 nucleus and the predicational satellite. There are
 no sentences, for example, having a locative phrase
 both in the predicate nucleus and in the predicational
 satellite. Verb phrases, however, frequently co-occur,
 e.g. //nakípte řé·n mé· hólře mīn, frét, ne kirím.//
 'Fred, teach your friends to dance.'

It is probable that whatever restrictions do obtain
 are semantic rather than structural.

3113.2 Respectual satellites are phrasal constructions
 consisting of {te} '(grammatical relator)' plus a noun
 phrase, a numeral phrase, or an action referent phrase.
 The respectual satellite is clarificational in nature;
 it adds information of a "with respect to" nature -
 as to agent, object, reason, etc. In any particular
 example its translation is dependent on its function.

The action referent phrase, referred to above,

occurs only in the respectful satellite; it consists of an action referent plus a noun phrase (NP'). It is restricted in distribution with respect to the type of predicator which occurs in the predicational nucleus, occurring only with clauses having verbal predicators that are neither attributive verbs of stem class 3 nor passive verbs of stem class 1. Examples of respectful satellites are as follows.

//lařákketi an ɲam pakó·n, te kú·? kufít.//

'The branch has been broken down by the wind.'

//patěñ cin, te tí·? có·n, neřóhe cu.// 'I'm

smarting due to John's whipping me.' (Smart I, by hand John, he whip me.)

//hěŋ taka ek misí·? tafísi, te fě·n manák kú·n.//

'Once there was a widow who had four children.'

//tú·y elkúyře aɲ, vaní·ró·?, te tumlát.//

'Word-maker threw dirt on her head.'

//té·ɲén yin te řupí·, ne láktén nup rón ɔ.//

'They get money through its fruit.' (Obtain they of money, they through these fruit it.)

There is clearly a great deal more work to be done in the analysis of the satellite constructions. There quite possibly are subtypes which need to be identified; and co-occurrence restrictions to be stated; it has simply not been possible to carry the analysis beyond the present point.

3120. The Dependent clause is summarized by the following statement.

DC: + Subordinate conjunction + Dependent subject
 ± Modal + Predicate satellite ± satellites.

The dependent subject consists of a possessive pronoun or a subject noun phrase.

The Dependent clause is distinguished from the Independent clause by three differences: (1) the presence of the subordinate conjunction, (2) the occurrence of the subordinate pronoun, rather than a subject pronoun, in the subject position, and (3) the obligatory occurrence of a predicate satellite.

The subject of the predicate satellite always agrees with the Dependent subject as to person and number.

Viewing the relationship between the Dependent and Independent clauses dynamically, the IC predicator is replaced by the subordinate conjunction, the subject is in the possessive rather than the subject case, and the predicator is expressed as a clause satellite. Note the following examples.

IC: //lé·k an ɲam máy.// 'The sea is calm.'

DC: //hé· ɲam máy, nə lé·k.// '...when the sea
 is calm.'

IC: //hán rɔ·? ca an, nə só·?.// 'He neglects
 hearing them.'

DC: //yé. ɔ nə só.ʔ, nə háŋ ró.ʔ ca.// 'If he neglects hearing them...'

IC: //mítŋə ay min.// 'We will steal away.'

DC: //hǒ. há.ʔ min ay mítŋə.// 'So that we will steal away.'

3130. Indirect clause

The Indirect clause (Ind. C) is a variation of the subordinate clause in that the reflexive {ɾɛ} is the dependent subject when the subject of the independent and indirect clauses are the same. The Indirect clause is introduced by {tə}, '(grammatical relator)'.

E.g.

//vé.ñə náŋ có.n, té cu min, ŋac umúh.// 'Tell John that I will be there.'

3200. Only brief statements can be made about the sentence. It consists minimally of an Independent clause, which may optionally be extended by one or more Dependent clauses or by an Indirect clause. Dependent clauses may either precede or follow the Independent clause; a single DC is attested preceding the IC; only two are attested after it. The following formulas summarize these statements.

$$\begin{aligned}
 S &= + IC \pm DC \pm DC \\
 &\pm DC + IC \\
 &+ IC \pm \text{Ind.C}
 \end{aligned}$$

These statements are in no way meant to be exhaustive; there are certainly other sentence types that occur. But the data do not allow that the analysis proceed beyond this point.

Examples of the above sentence types are as follows.

- +IC + DC + DC: //ʔət akáhaló·n cin, yé·ɔ, nə yíh,
yé·ɔ nə réhʔə.// 'I don't know
whether he will come or not.'
- + DC + IC: //yé·ay káhátlú· ná·ʔ min, nəc yíh.//
'If we finish dinner, we will come.'
- + IC + Ind.C: //kó·ʔtekú·ʔ cáʔa, té ɔ, nə kucí·ke
róŋ.// 'They found that it's fruit
was tasty.'

3300. Phrasal constructions comprise verb, locative, durative, noun, interrogative, and numeral phrases.

3310. Verb phrase

The verb phrase defines two tactic classes of the inflected verb constructions, as follows.

VR: Personal referent verb; Non-personal referent verb; Referential verb with {rén}

VNR: All other verb constructions, and unsuffixed non-agentive and intransitive stems.

The verb phrase is comprised of three phrasal constructions, i.e.

VP₁: VR + NP

VP₂: VR + N' + NP'

VP₃: VNR ± N'

The relationship between VR and NP or N' is objective; that between VNR and N' is attributive.

N' is a subclass of nouns which is defined by the above constructional statements and by the transformational relationship which obtains between types VP₁ and VP₂ to type VP₃. Types VP₁ and VP₂ are always active clauses; their passives are, respectively, VP₃ where VP₃ is VNR, and VP₃ where it is VNR + N'. Note the following examples.

VP₁ mák ɲam lí·pəřə cin. 'I see the book'.
 VR NP S

Its passive:

VP₃:VNR máke an nam lí·peñe, to cu.

VR S Agt

'The book is seen by me.'

VP₂ vé·?ñe nán cu có·n 'John tells me.'

VR N' NP' S

Its passive:

VP₃:VNR + N' vé·?ñu nán cin, te có·n

VNR N' S Agt

'I'm told by John.'

The verb type in VP₃ is not restricted to the passive; virtually every type of non-referential verb except the Incorporated goal construction has been found in the construction VNR + N'. But in every example but one in the data N' is a descriptive attribute of the clause subject - such as a body part or emotion, of animate subjects, or a part or description, of inanimate objects - which could in some other grammatical construction be formally possessed by the subject. The single exception: //kihí·te lí·peñe cin.// 'My books are all taken.' (Attributive verb, N', subject; lí·peñe may be formally possessed but is not, of course, a part of the subject.)

There are two morphemes that are not nouns that are distributed as N' morphemes and are classed with them here for the sake of simplicity: {tí·?} 'hand' and {rén₂} 'doing'.

{tí·?} is a member of the action referent class and is described in that section. As a free form {tí·?} means 'doing by hand', e.g. //hĩn tí·? ɔ cin.// 'I'm waiting for him (to do it) by hand.' (Wait [do-by-hand] him I.)

{rén₂} is found only after VNR; it refers to 'doing' in general, e.g. //rónhac rén cin, [hanh-təřε].// 'I'm still listening.' (Still doing I, [listening].)

Special comments are in order regarding NP of VP₁. The fully expanded noun phrase has seven positions. However, there is evidence that the object noun phrase, found in VP₁, is limited to four positions, as per the first example below. There are no examples of adjective-noun sequences occurring as verb objects; either the noun or the adjective is transposed to post-subject position, of an Independent clause, as per the second example. The data do not allow that the position of the transposition be fixed with respect to the modals of the Independent clause nor at all with respect to the Dependent clause.

Examples of the verb phrases are as follows. They are presented in full sentence contexts; the verb phrase occurs initially in each example below and is separated from the rest of the sentence by a space.

- VP₁: //mák né· pitó·ttít ñiné·ke cu man.// 'See these marks of my binding.' (See these scar-remains binding my you.)
 //ké·?te temanúl man lí·peře, ?ín cu.// 'Give me the yellow book.' (Give yellow you book, to me.)
 //harú·nə sanó·y ɲam cəhəcó·n man.// 'Singe the bird's feathers.' (Singe hair the bird you.)
- VP₂: //hacíp mátře man ɲé·cke ε.// Examine it carefully.' (Make-straight eye-self you examine it.)
 //hamákhe mát có·n cin, tə lí·peře.// 'I'm showing John the book.' (Cause-see eye John I, of book.)
- VP₃; VR + N': //táŋka řóy an ɲóh có·n, tə cəhəcó·n// 'Occasionally the tree is perched by birds.' (Perch branch it the tree, by bird.)
 //hurí·nə káha an ɲam có·n.// 'The tree trunk is black.' (Black trunk it the tree.)
 //miřítkeře ?úk an ɲíh lí·peře.// 'The cover of this book is rough carved.' ([Rough carved] book it this book.)
- VR: //siřóle cin, tə nuě·.// 'I'm butted by the bull. (Butted I, by bull.)
 //lařák an ɲam kanú·c.// 'The pencil is split. (Split it the pencil.)

3320. Locative phrases

Both of the locative morphemes, {ʔín} and {ɛl}, occur as phrasal introducers. The {ʔín} phrase is much more frequent and more broadly distributed; it is referred to as the "locative phrase", while the {ɛl} phrase is termed simply the "{ɛl} phrase".

3321. The {ʔín} phrase consists of the directional locative {ʔín} 'in, to' plus either a noun phrase or a demonstrative locative.

$$\text{LP: } \{ʔín\} + \begin{cases} \text{NP} \\ \text{DL} \end{cases}$$

The locative phrase focuses the locus or direction of the condition or action in space or time. When locative phrases expressing both spatial and temporal location occur with the same clause, the spatial locative precedes.

Recall that {ʔín} plus third person 'not-visible' and 'past' pronouns contract.

E.g.

//ik haté·m// 'in the night'

//i kúy ɲam lí·pəřɛ// 'on the hook'

//ʔín məh// 'to me'

//i nuk kinlónɛ laʔénřɛ// 'to their work at the fence'

3322. The {ɛl} phrase consists essentially of {ɛl} plus a noun phrase; noun phrases which are attested are all quite brief, but probably the full noun phrase is possible after {ɛl}, i.e.

{εl} phrase: {εl} + NP

E.g.

//εl kuvó·kə// 'in the basket'
 //εl náy// 'in the sea'
 //εl haté·m// 'in the evening'
 //εl ηam mané·ηə// 'in the hole'

3330. Durative phrase

The durative phrase consists of {hé·} 'while, when', plus an {εl} phrase or, probably, a noun phrase of a restricted nature; only one example is attested of {hé·} with a following noun.

E.g.

//hé· lané·l// 'during the (time of) plenty'
 //hé· εl y^íη tavú·y// 'on a summer day' (when in
 great heat)

3340. Noun phrase

Three constructional statements define the noun phrase; each is presented in turn.

Special symbols:

N_c = common noun; D = demonstrative pronoun

N_p = proper noun; D' = D, 3rd pers. not-vis. & past pron.

P_p = poss. pron.; P'_p = P_p , {řε} 'self', {hé·} 'each other'

(Recall that {řε} occurs suffixed to a preceding noun)

NP: +[$\pm N_c P \pm NP'$]

$N_c P$: + [$\pm D' \pm Adj + N_c$
 $\pm \{ \eta am \} + N_c$]

NP': $\pm N_p, \pm N_c P \pm P'_p$

Theoretically, the fully expanded noun phrase could contain seven words, i.e.

$$+ D + Adj + N_c + D + Adj + N_c + P'_p$$

This formula is a generalization from the patterns that are found; it generates phrases such as the following, which could surely occur but are not in fact attested:

//nup təhacá·pə lí·pəřə ək tekuló·ʔue ñí·ʔ cu//

'The piled books of my stupid child' (The piled book the stupid child my)

In the data the noun phrase rarely contains more than four words, e.g.

$$+ D + Adj + N_c + P'_p$$

Examples of some of the possibilities generated by the constructional statement are as follows:

D + Adj + N_c: //vé· tetkó·ʔ tařík// 'These unable people'

D + N_c + D + Adj + N_c: //né· mahú·və ŋíh tecó·c panám// 'These waves of this troubled land'

N_c + N_p: //patí·ʔ hařvé·// 'Harvey's house'

N_c + D + N_c + řε: //kinpáhə ək mé·mřε// 'dying of one's brother'

N_c + P'_p: //hól cu// 'my friend'

D + N_c + N_c: //vé· tarókheřə tařík// 'all men'
(These all men)

N_c + N_c + řε: //likán y^íŋřε// 'one's parents neck'
(neck parent-own)

A second noun phrase is distributed in the subject phrase. It is a less fully expanded phrase, as follows.

$$NP_s: + \left[\begin{array}{l} \pm [\pm D_1 + N_c] \pm P_p \\ \pm N_c P \end{array} \right.$$

Morphemes tagged with subscript 1 must agree in number, person, and/or animate/inanimate with the subject pronoun, with which NP_s occurs as an expansion.

Note: when NP_s is $N_c P$ which is occurring as the expansion of a 3rd. person non-past visible pronoun subject, i.e. {an} or {nun}, {ŋam} is obligatory.

E.g.

//yíhtə̀ɛ an ŋam hól cu.// 'My friend came to me.'

But *//yíhtə̀ɛ an hól cu.// may not occur.

Other examples of NP_s :

E.g.

Adj + N_c : //hén taka ek tə'akáhe tañík.// 'There was a good man.'

D + N_c + P_p : //liŋá·lhaka nun né· fá·lén cu.// 'My sins are revealed to you.'

There is one example of a noun phrase containing a numeral adjective; the noun is classified. The formula for the phrase found is as follows.

$$NP_n: + D + Adj_n + Clf + N_c$$

I.e.

//mē·nə ən ɲíh tɛhɛŋ miřĩ·kə có·n.// 'The log
is hollow.'

Additional data would probably allow integrating
this phrase type into the NP formula.

3350 Interrogative phrase

The interrogative phrase consists of a predicate
interrogative, IR, plus an optional noun, i.e.

Interrogative phrase: *IR ± N

E.g.

//sitíh tí·ʔ ap, nə fɛlán?// 'How did he beat
him?'

//ʔacíh ap lumkún ap ɛlmé·ři?// 'Who is rattling
the cupboard?'

3360. Numeral phrase

The numeral phrase comprises three phrasal constructions as follows.

Symbols used:

Num: Unaffixed numerator Clf: Classifier

N_{ucl}: Unclassified noun N_{cl}: Classified noun

IOQ: Incorporated object quantifier

$$\text{NumP}_1: \begin{cases} \text{Num} + \text{Clf} + \text{N}_{cl} \\ \text{Attributive numeral} + \text{N}_{ucl} \end{cases}$$

Numeral phrase 1 is bipartite, with separate statements for classified and unclassified nouns. The two statements have the same distribution.

E.g.

//ʔá·m maník kú·n əm?// 'How many children do you have?'

//né·t mikí·ce uhé·ʔ ən.// 'It has two eggs.'

//né·tə sinrō·l əŋáhʔə.// 'He had two horns.'

$$\text{NumP}_2: + \begin{array}{|c|} \hline \text{Num} \\ \hline \text{IOQ} \\ \hline \text{Qualifier quantifier} \\ \hline \text{Incremental quantifier} \\ \hline \end{array} \pm N$$

The nouns occurring in this construction may be of a limited class; most examples are of numerable nouns referring to a time span.

E.g.

//né·t sumkám cin, ?ahík.// 'I fasted four days.'

//fé·nhət cin, fóhə.// 'I'm beaten four times.'

//hénqəñ mité·m cin, əl má·y.// 'I was out at
sea one night.'

//sámtít nun.// 'Ten remain.'

//fé·ntəřə sumkám cin, kapáh.// 'I will die in
four days.'
$$\text{NumP}_3: + \begin{bmatrix} \text{Num} \\ \text{IOQ} \end{bmatrix} \pm \text{Clf}$$

In this construction the classifier refers either to the subject noun or to a noun which may be present in an optional satellite of the clause.

E.g.

//lú·y tak yin vé·ní·?, ihíh.// 'The three
children are here.'//?á·mqəl nóŋ əm, ví·? cók?// 'How many arrows
have you made?' ([How many] [Classifier: long
narrow objects] you, make arrow?)

//hénhet tí·? cin.// 'I scored one.'

Appendix I

The occurrences of unstressed /i, a, ə, u/ which are found in the data are shown in the following charts. Syllables which are the result of metathesis or vowel harmony are not included. * indicates the form so occurring is a particle.

$C_1 \backslash C_2$	p	t	c	k	m	n	ñ	ŋ	l	ř	v	y	ʔ	h
p					X	X		X						
t				X	X				X				X*	
c					X									
k					X			X	X					
m					X	X								
n	X*			X*		X								X
ñ					X									
ŋ			X*		X*									X
f					X									
s					X									
l					X				X*					
ř														
y														
ʔ	X*					X*		X*					X*	
h		X		X		X								

Distribution of unstressed /a/

c_1/c_2	p	t	c	k	m	n	\tilde{n}	η	l	\tilde{r}	v	y	ʔ	h
p						X								
t		X				X			X					
c						X								
k						X			X					
m						X								
n														
\tilde{n}							X*							
η														
f						X								
s						X								
l						X								
\tilde{r}														X
y	X*			X*		X*								X
ʔ	X*			X*	X*	X		X						
h						X								

Distribution of unstressed /i/

c₁/c₂

	p	t	c	k	m	n	ñ	ŋ	l	ř	v	y	ʔ	h
p			X*		X*	X*							X*	
t	X*	X*	X*	X*	X*	X*		X*		X			X*	
c														
k										X				
m										X*				
n								X*						
ñ										X				
ŋ										X				
f														
s														
l								X		X				
ř														
y														
ʔ	X*	X*	X*	X*	X*	X*		X*		X			X	
h		X	X					X	X	X				

Distribution of unstressed /e/

c₁/c₂

	p	t	c	k	m	n	ñ	ŋ	l	ř	v	y	ʔ	h
p					X									
t					X	X								
c				X	X	X								
k					X	X								X
m					X									
n	X*			X*		X*								X
ñ														
ŋ														X
f					X									
s					X	X								
l					X	X								
ř					X									
y														
ʔ			X*		X*	X						X	X	
h					X	X								

Distribution of unstressed /u/